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THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, MARCH 18, 1850.

[COPY-RIGHT SECURED.] THE MOTHER-IN-LAW.

A STORY OF THE ISLAND ESTATE.

BY MRS. EMMA D. E. SOUTHWORTH. BOOK SECOND.

III. A PARLOR STORM. Her's was not that blind, capricions rage, A word can kindle and a word assuage; But the deep workings of a soul unmixed With aught of pity where its wrath had fixed.

Mrs. Armstrong reached her chamber, and by a peal of bells brought Kate Jumper to her

"Have Mr. and Mrs. Stuart-Gordon left the

shores of the Island yet?"

"Yes, madam !" "How long since?"

" An hour, madam !"

" Madam !

"Do you know what direction they took?" "Up the river toward the falls, madam !"

"It is too late and too far to recall them. You may go!-stay !"

"Go into Mrs. Stuart-Gordon's room and pack up her wardrobe. We return to Mont Crystal

to-night !" "Yes, madam !"

"And, observe! be silent upon this matter !" " Yes, madam !"

"When you have completed the packing of Mrs. Stuart-Gordon's wardrobe, return hither to pack up my own! Go!" And thus dismissing her attendant, the lady

seated herself in stern calmness by the window, and took out her knotting.

The tall mulatto stalked on to the apartments of the bride, to execute her mistress's orders. The suit of apartments appropriated to Louis and Louise consisted of one bed-chamber, between wished to speak to you. Come and sit by my

two dressing-rooms, and connected with them. The dressing-room assigned to Louise was fitted up in the most costly and elegant style. It was a front room on the second floor, and its two tall windows overlooked the terrace, lawn, river, the serious tone. Side, Louise."

The girl took the indicated seat, the footstool at her mother's feet, and, laying her arms over her mother's lap, looked up into her face, to see what she was about to say—

"Do you love me, Louise?" asked the lady, in opposite bank, and the bride's own home, Mont Crystal. Between these two high front windows hung a tall cheval mirror-and the windows and the mirror were curtained and festooned with blue silk and white lace, tied up with ribbons, and wreaths of violets. The carpet on the floor and the paper on the walls were of the same color and pricked to the heart. She was and pattern—blue violets running over a white ground. The bureaus, wardrobes, dressing-tables, child has forsaken her mother for a comparative that looks so much like ivory.

When Kate Jumper stalked into this room, sh found it already occupied by a little, old, short, thick-set negress, who was not employing herself by setting the room in order, but amusing herself by trying on one of her young mistress's exquisite little French hats, and viewing with much self-satisfaction the effect of the soft white velvet and delicate white plumes surrounding a face black, shining, seamed, and wrinkled as a dried

This was Seraphina, the wife of Apollo, and the nurse and waiting maid of all the Mistresses and the Misses Stuart-Gordon for the last fifty years-now the personal attendant of Louise. "Good morning, Mrs. Jumper!" said the seraph, laying off the white hat and feathers in-

Kate Jumper disdained to answer, except by short nod, and, striding up past the Abigail, she took the bunch of keys from the dressing-table, and began to unlock the bureaus-

"What are you going to do, Mrs. Jumper?" The mulatto did not think it worth while to

"I say there! I say there! don't tech them Brissles laces and ribbons! I never 'low anybody to tech um but myself! I say! why don't you hear me? why don't you stop? Are you crazy? Stop o' rummidgin' my missis's thingumies-will you? Here, give me the keys! I never seen sich impidence in all my life! You must be cracked! Here! gim me them keys!" and, running and waddling towards her, the little woman possessed herself of the disputed keys with a sud-

Kate Jumper, without speaking, quietly held out her hand to get them again. Seraph hugged them under her fat chin with both hands. With a silent but peremptory gesture, the mulatto started to her feet, and demanded their return. "I won't! I shan't! Set you up with it, in deed! Rummidgin' my young missis's drawers! You don't look like the mos' honestest person in the worl' no how! I don't know nuffin 'bout your

With a quiet, quick dart of her hand, the mulatto gripped her talons around the throat of Seraph, and choked her until she grew full in the face, and dropped the keys; then, drawing her towards the door, she silently thrust her out, closed the door, and looked it on the inside.

All this passed so quietly that one in the next room would not have known what was going on! Seraph, on the floor outside the door, convulsed, heaved, spluttered, sneezed, coughed, and recovered herself-

"The Lor' a massy upon me! Dis is wass 'an de landin' o' de British." I say in dere! you nonation! I'd holler murder, only I wont make a 'fusion to 'sturb de family! But I'll have you put in jail for 'salt and batterin' me! an' for abreakin' open of my missis's drawers! Oh, you won't speak! Never you min'! you'll see! you good for nothin' poor white man's darter you!"

There! that was the most insulting taunt a pure-blooded Virginia negro could cast upon a mulatto! And, having spent the force of her fury on this last expletive, Scraph gathered herself up and waddled down stairs, leaving Kate Jumper to go on with her packing.

Kate pursued her task until she had completed it, even to the strapping of the trunks, and then, taking with her the bunch of keys, she went out of the room, locked the door to prevent the reentrance of her antagonist, Seraph, and took the keys to the chamber of Mrs. Armstrong. She found that lady still seated at the window, knotting with apparent composure.

"Yes, madam, everything is packed and ready, and Mrs. Stuart-Gordon's shawl and hat are laid out upon the bed for her to wear. Here are the

Very good! I shall keep my room until die ner. When Mrs. Stuart-Gordon returns, let her know that I expect her here. Now go!" And she went on very quietly with her knotous and acute observer have detected the fell stermination of this pitiless mother!

There she sat by the open window, watching the summer sun slowly tecline, unmindful, unconscious of the resplement beauty of the scene stretched out before her—a landscape whose gorgeous glory would have caught the breath from any other beholder. There she sat, watching the sun's splendid descent, impatient for its setting, which would bring Louis and Louise home, and hasten the hour of her departure with her daughter—the hour of her vengeance. There she sat, resolved, though knowing how much Louise loved Louis—aye, and hating her for thus loving him—knowing how this separation would torture Louise, and taking a secret and diabolical pleasure in the idea of the torture—smiling grimly to herself at the thought of this separation! smiling grimly at the thought that Louise should suffer for having thus transferred her affections—that Louis should be agonized for having won from herself this love—that General Stuart-Gordon should be humiliated for having doubly mortified her, in the disappointment of her ambitious projects both for herself and her daughter. This signal separation and its cause would lay his pride in the dust! For herself, she was too really and essentially proud to care what construction might be put upon her actions. She sat there, stern, erect, resolute, determined, but walm, except when occaproud to care what construction might be put upon her actions. She sat there, stern, erect, res-olute, determined, but walm, except when occa-sionally that diabolical grin distorted her features, going on with her knotting without dropping one stitch or missing one mesh.

At last, when the sun had sunk behind the

At last, when the sun had sunk behind the mountain, and when the slanting shadows had stretched quite across the river, darkening the whole scene, a rap was heard at her door, and soon after Kate Jumper entered—
"Mrs. Stuart-Gordon as just returned, madam, and is coming up to her room to change her dress for dinner. Let me have the keys?"

(E) it is not all from a large may message to her?"

"Did you deliver my message to her?"
"Yes, madam; but she prefers to dress first."

"Louise pays very little regard to my wishes since her marriage," thought the mother, bitterly, then she said, "Go and tell Mrs. Stuart-Gordon

that I am waiting for her here."

The woman had scarcely left the room before the light step and clear voice of Louise was heard the light step and clear voice of Louise was near tripping and singing up the stairs, a merry, thril-ling quadrille air. The dancing and the singing abruptly ceased as she reached the door of her mother's apartment, and rapped before venturing

"Come in, my daughter!" said the voice of the lady, in kinder tones than those she usually em-ployed in speaking to her child, or to any one else

Louise opened the door softly, and entered the room.

"You have a very unladylike manner of entering a house and ascending a flight of stairs, my daughter. I am pleased, however, that your boisterousness moderated a little as you neared my

"Dear mother, Louis loves to see me merryencourages me to be wild—and indeed I lately have a tendency that way, so that I symetimes "Oh, I have no doubt in the world that you

side. Louise.

"My dear mother! would you only let me love "Yet for a month past you have neglected and

Louise hung down her fair head, and the tears began to gather in her eyes and roll down her

"My child, that I bore and nursed—that brought up and educated—that I never would send from me, even to sleep—my only child, has ceased to love me.

The tears of the daughter were falling fast.

She was subdued by the thought that her mother—her proud, lofiy mother—should bend thus a supplicant for a share in her child's heart.

"Yes, she had ceased to love her mother: her

mother, whose whole and sole thought has been for her welfare alone."

Louise, filled with remorse, had no power of re-

Yes, she has ceased to love me; me, who remained through all the best years of my life un-married for her sake; she has ceased to love me, and I am desolate—a widow, childless, and deso-

Here, with her deep knowledge of human na-Here, with her deep knowledge of human nature, she purposely touched a chord at which the bride's and the daughter's heart vibrated to the quick. With the one idea of the young wife, the one idea of wedded love, filling her mind, she suddenly recollected that her mother was—a widow, and her whole soul filled with an overpowering tenderness of love and pity, and casting her arms around her mother, she exclaimed—

"A widow! Oh, my dear, dear mother, forgive me that I never thought of that before! A widow! Oh, my mother, I never knew how much sorrow was in that word before. A nidow! Oh, my poor mother, how much, indeed, you must have suffered! A nidow! Oh, may the Lord in mercy preserve me from ever becoming—a widow!"

suffered! A widow! Oh, may the Lord in mercy preserve me from ever becoming—a widow!"

And a shudder ran through all her frame.

"Oh, my dear mother, I do love you, will love you, all that you will let me. It is sweet to be permitted to love you so, mother."

Mrs. Armstrong soothed and caressed her child. Had this tenderness in the mother been a customary thing, it would not then have possessed such all-subduing power over Louise. It was the long-desired, unhoped love, that, suddenly manifesting itself, completely subjected the will of the daughter.

And Mrs. Armstrong pressed her to her bosom, smoothed back her golden hair, and kissed her snowy brow, while Louise would murmur softly.

"Oh, it is so sweet to have you love me so, when the last word. mother "— lingering over the last word mother," slowly, with ineffable tenderness. Suddenly, Mrs. Armstrong said to her, very

gravely—
"Now, my daughter, I have something very se-"Now, my daug...",
rious to say to you."
"Say it, my dear mother."
"Louise, I have been insulted, outraged."
"Insulted! outraged!" repeated Louise, looking

up in astonishment.

"Yes, my daughter?"

"Insulted! you?" she exclaimed, raising herself up in a sitting posture, and gazing at her mother in amazement; mother, you! Who has dared?"

"Greened Shoot Gordon; no less a person?"

"General Stuart-Gordon; no less a person."
"General Stuart-Gordon!" reiterated Louise

"And sane, Louise."
"It seems to me that I have the nightmare! I wish I could rouse myself. General Stuart"—
"My dear child, listen; I will tell you all about it. General Stuart-Gordon informed me yesterday that he was about to be married."
"To be married!"

"To be married!"

"My dear child, pray cease these vexatious exclamatory repetitions, and listen to me. Yes, he informed me he was about to be married to

Britannia O'Riley "——

"Britannia O'Riley! what! Brighty coming here? Oh "——

"Once more, Mrs. Stuart-Gordon—I mean my dear Louise—I must entreat you to cease repeating my words; it impedes and embarrasses me. Well, General Stuart-Gordon informed me, as I said, of his approaching marriage with Mis O'Riley. Louise, what do you think of this mar

O'Riley. Louise, what do you think of this riage?"
"I cannot believe it. It cannot be true."

"Upon what account?—Miss O'Riley's want of birth—fortune?"
"Oh, no; that is nothing."
"What, then?"

"What, then?"

"Why, Brighty's a girl, and General Stuart-Gordon is an old gentleman. Oh, you know, of course, mother, it was a joke; that was a joke; though I admit that it was almost insulting to jest with you about it, mother."

with you about it, mother."

"My dear, it was no joke; it was truth. This marriage is to come off in a month."

"No, mother, no; it must be a mistake. It cannot be true."

"I tell you that I am assured of it beyond a

Louise shuddered and paled.

"Oh, mother, don't; it makes my blood run cold the wrong way," exclaimed Louise, who fully believed herself the type of all womankind in this respect. "Poor Brighty, dear, radiant Brighty, to be so extinguished. Mother, dear mother, tell her not to have him. Save her."

"I cannot, unfortunately. Miss O'Riley is very capable of marrying a dotard for the sake of attaining a brilliant position. Your sympathy is besides quite thrown upon Miss O'Riley, who is a clear-headed, cold-hearted, selfish, and calculating woman, who will be happy in her destiny."

"A brilliant position! so is that of the Hindoo suttee a brilliant position, and one, it strikes me, as being as great an immolation as the other. Dearest mother, since you are so kind, and permit me to speak so freely, let me entreat you to talk to General Stuart-Gordon on this subject. Beg him not to take advantage of Brighty's poverty, and

General Stuart-Gordon on this subject. Beg him not to take advantage of Brighty's poverty, and her love of elegance, and her inexperience. Tell, him Brighty is nothing but a bit of a girl," continued the little matron, "tell him that she will grievously repent it. Tell him to be magnanim mous, magnificent, princely. Tell him to adopt Brighty as his daughter; to bring her here and make her feel at home among us. Tell him, if he wants to marry, to find some lady near his own age, who will not be compelled to wish him dead all the days of his life, and to leave poor Brighty alone to seek her own share of this world's life, love, and joy."

"You are very much changed, Louise!" soid

"You are very much changed, Louise!" said ber mother, in surprise—"very much changed. Who would have supposed that you had reflected so much—that you would have confidence to give

"My daughter, are you must and let us go!"

"Mother, it is dearest Louis! He talks with me, and encourages me to talk. He listens to me—stimulates me to think. Oh mother, I have step."

"Give me your arm, Louise! I command you!"

"More at your peril. Mrs. Louis." ence! I seem to have received an impulse—to have taken a new start in life. The vista of a

have taken a new start in life. The vista of a universe seems opening before me; my soul seems to have dropped its fetters—escaped its prison—and revels in liberty and light. And Louis has given me this new life, mother!" The brow of the lady darkened. "And that is the reason, mother, why I do so pity dear Brighty. She closes upon herself the prospect of a happiness like mine"— Arrested by a feeling of bashfulness, Louise suddenly stopped in the full-flowing stream of her confidences, and blushed. Soon she recovered her composure and said, "You will speak to General Stuart-Gordon about this, will you not, my mother?"

"My daughter, it was of that I wished to talk is

"My daughter, it was of that I wished to talk you. I have spoken to him upon this subject." "And he?" Became offended." "And "-"Used offensive language to me."

" Violent language, Louise."
"Mother!"

"Mother!"

"Ordered me to quit his roof."

"Mother!" so!" exclaimed Louise, starting to her feet as the blood rushed to her brow.

"Be calm, my daughter. Be composed; be lady-like. Remember yourself. Recollect that all such manifestations of feeling are vulgar. Be

I say that I cannot stay here, mother ! "

"I say that I cannot stay here, mother!"

"Explain, my daughter."

"Could I remain under the roof of a house from which my mother has been driven? No, mother, no! Louis will not expect it! Louis will not desire it! Louis will respect a daughter's feelings. I will entreat him to hire a house and take me hence! We will leave this gorgeous palace to General Stuart-Gordon and any lady he may be pleased to set over it, and we will go into some humbler house, in which, at least, my mother can be safe from insult, and secure of respect!"

"A new, revised, and improved edition of love in a cottage!" sneered the lady, but quickly remembering that her cue was love and confidence, she replied, "my daughter, I thank you; but this

she replied, "my daughter, I thank you; but this plan of yours is impracticable."

"Impracticable!"

"Yes, my daughter! Louis is just eighteen. He yet wants three years of his majority. Until that period arrives, he has not a dollar but what his father gives him. When that period arrives, he is in possession of all this vast estate. Until that period arrives, he has no means of hiring a hard period arrives, he has no means of hiring a hard arrives or in any way supporting

asked,
"What am I to do, then, mother? Tell me what I am to do?"
"Return with me this evening to Mont Crystal!" Mother! mother!

"Mother! mother!"
"If Louis loves you, he will follow you thither. I will invite him to remain, and we will all live there together until the majority of Louis puts him in possession of the Island Estate and The Isle of Rays. Will you agree to this, Louise?"

"Will you return with me this evening to Mont Crystal?"
"Mother, my heart is breaking, but I will do

"You promise this?" "I promise it!"
"God bless you, my daughter!"
"God pivy me, my mother!"
The ringing of the dinner-bell aroused them.

"Will you go down, mother?"
"No, my daughter."
"And I, then, mother; what shall I do?" "Go and prepare for your journey, my daugh-ter; and when you are ready, meet me in the

drawing-room."

Louise left the room, weeping.

"Dinner waits, madam," said a servant, rapping softly at the door.

"Let it wait," was the curt reply of the lady, who was adjusting the folds of her ample black valvet cloak. velvet cloak.
In a few minutes more, Mrs. Armstrong, in full carriage costume, descended into the hall. General Stuart-Gordon advanced from the drawing-

eral Stuart-Gordon advanced from the drawingroom door to meet her,

"Mrs. Armstrong, I have come to solicit your
pardon for the intemperate words uttered in my
excitement of this morning. Will you honor me
by accepting the support of my arm to the drawing-room, in token of forgiveness?" said he, in a
deep, earnest, and deprecating tone and manner.

"Sir!" replied the lady, drawing her majestic
figure up to its full height, "I bear no malice
towards beasts, idiots, or dotards; I only protect
myself from their violence in fature."

With a grava deep bow General Stuart-Gor-

With a grave, deep bow, General Stuart-Gor-on receded, and allowed her to pass.

With a grave, deep bow, General Stuart-Gordon receded, and allowed her to pass.

"I ordered my carriage at five o'clock. You will be so good as to see if it waits, sir," she said, in the arrogant tone of an offended despot speaking to a slave, as she sailed on.

"Certainly, madam, with pleasure!" replied the General, with a second and deeper bow.

She entered the drawing-room, and stood there waiting until Louise should join her. She had not long to wait. Louise soon entered, arrayed for her ride, in a white crape shawl, white bonnet and veil. Her veil was down, to hide her flowing tears.

"Are you quite ready, my daughter?" inquired the lady.
"Yes, quite ready, mother; but Oh! I must

possibility of a doubt. Besides, I am not apt to be mistaken in anything, my daughter."

"But poor, dear Brighty, then—dear, brilliant, sparkling Brighty—to be lost so."

"And that is the light in which you view it, Louise. You, had you been never so poor, could not have married an old man?"

Louise shuddered and paled.

"Oh mother doubt. Besides, I am not apt to be mistaken in anything, my daughter."

I have not seen him for an hour—not seen him for an hour—not since we returned from rowing. I do not know where he can be!" replied the bride, in a distressing tone.

"Where are you going, Louise?" inquired the General, walking up to his daughter-in-law.

"Home with mother!" she murmured, sinking weping into a chair.

"Let me pass, sir!"

"Let me pass, sir!"

"Let me pass, sir!"

weeping into a chair.

"May I inquire, Mrs. Louis, if your husband is advised of this proceeding on your part?"

"SIR!" address your conversation to ME, who well know how to answer you—and do not brow beat the child, like a dastard!" exclaimed Mrs. Armstrong, striding up, and placing herself be-tween them, and in front of Louise. "Then, madam, I desire to know the meaning of all this!"

"Move at your peril. Mrs. Louis!"
"Am I to be obeyed, Louise?" sternly demanded

the lady.

"Do you hear me, Mrs. Louis?" thundered the General.

"Oh pity, Lord!" prayed Louise, with clasped hands and blanched cheeks, her very tears congealed with terror—looking from one antagonist to the other.

"Ah! good! here is Louis!" exclaimed the General of Louis Stuart Gorden cointly entered.

General, as Louis Stuart-Gordon quietly entered the room, and stood arrested in an attitude of surprise, in the midst of them.

'Louis! Louis!' exclaimed Louise, as, throw-ing out her hands, she flew to his arms, as a bird

to her nest—flew from the storm of anger raging around her, and casting her fair arms up around his neck, and burying her head in his bosom, she hung there, palpitating, her pale gold locks and white muslin drapery flowing over his black dress. And Louis! He stood there, encircling her with one arm, while with the other hand he stroked her locks and swonders—scothing her stroked her locks and shoulders—soothing her perturbation—and instinctively mesmerizing her. Meanwhile the war of words raged on. "Sir, my daughter returns with me to Mont

Crystal!"
"Madam! my son's wife abides under our

"My dear father, let me extreat you to grant the lady precedence in this explanation," said Louis.
"Certainly, my son! Be so good as to proceed, madam!"
And Mrs. Armstrong, in a few curt, haughty

words, explained the motive of her act.

"So you perceive, Louis, that this good lady wishes to separate you from your wife! Of course you will not consent to any such measure!" decided the General.

decided the General.

"My daughter SHALL return with me!" persisted the lady, with awful sternness.

"My son's wife 'SHALL' abide where she is!" concluded the General.

Louise started and shuddered in the arms of her blood Louise started and shuddered in the arms of her husband. Louis pressed her closer to his bosom, stooped and soothed her; and then, erecting his slight but elegant form, he waved his hand, and imposed silence by a gesture full of dignity. And, looking from one to the other, with something of grave rebuke in his tone and manner, he said—

"My honored father! and my esteemed motherinder, you do bottle over the write on the nuclear than the said.

A ting possession

It period arrives, he has not period arrives, inself or his wife, apart from his father."

"Oh, Heaven! what shall I do?"

"You cannot, of course, remain under a roof from which your mother has been expelled!"
It trust, my daughter." Louise was weeping silently. "Why do you not answer, my daughter? You do not think of remaining here after I have been thrust forth."

"My on on think of remaining here after I have been thrust forth."

"My child has ceased to love me—my only "My child has ceased to love me—my only "And I will abide by here the solitude, the the solitude, the solitude is the solitude in this matter, as in all others, for herself—and," contiaued the young man, growing a little pale, "and I will abide by her decision."

"Good! I accept the conditions!" said Mrs. "Good! I accept the conditions!" said Mrs. "Lut Louise decide for herself."

decision."

"Good! I accept the conditions!" said Mrs.
Armstrong. "Let Louise decide for herself. I too will abide by her decision!"

"Bad! I say! it will not do! You commit an error, Louis! You give this girl her own way, and her will must succumb to the first strong will that it encounters—must succumb to her mother's! She has never been accustomed to self-guidance—never will be fit for self-guidance!"

"Never, unless she is permitted to guide her-"Never, unless she is permitted to guide her-self, my father! Enough! We will have the

decision of Louise, and accept it."

"And abide by it." chimed in Mrs. Armstrong who felt no doubt in her mind as to the favorable (for her plan) decision of her daughter.
"Zounds! can there be two sides to this question?" exclaimed General Stuart Gordon, put

"Look up, Louise. Look up, my own!" murmured Louis, bending over her until his lips were at her ear. "Look up, Louise, and ect this vessed question at rest. No one shall constrain your will. Look up and tell us—will you remain with

me or depart with your mother ?"

She pressed closer to him, weeping. "Say, my darling-will you remain with With you, Louis-with you, angel, Louisyou—you," murmured Louise, dropping words and tears both in his bosom!

"What does she say? You are not to coax her!" exclaimed the mother.

"She says that she will remain with me," said

Louis.

Mrs. Armstrong turned pale, strode up to her daughter, and exclaimed, bitterly and sorrowfully—

"My child! mine only child! do you abandon

"My child! mine only child: do you abandon
me thus? me in my age! me in my widowhood!
me to endless, childless solitude? Oh, Louise!"

"Mother! no! no!" exclaimed the poor bride,
suddenly starting from the gentle arms of Louis,
and throwing herself upon the bosom of her mother. "Mother, no! I will go with you!"

"Come, then! your shawl and bonnet—where

are they ?"
"But Louis! oh, Louis!" once more casting "But Louis! oh, Louis!" once more casting herself in the arms of her husband.
"Again, my child, will you come?"
"Yes, I will go with you! no! stay with Louis! Mother! Louis! mother!—oh, mercy, Louis! Mother! Louis! mother!—oh, mercy, Lord!"
And, broken between conflicting claims and emotions, the poor bride and child fainted over the arm of her husband.

"Thank God!" exclaimed General Stuart-Gordon, savagely, in the tone of an oath, "Take her to her room, Louis; lock the door on the inside, and remain with her. Don't be alarmed—a fainting fit is nothing. Call Seraph to attend you, and be quick, for she will recover in five minutes, and all this trouble will be to go over again!"

and all this trouble will be to go over again?"

And Louis, raising her in his arms and calling loudly for assistance, bore her from the room. Mrs. Armstrong started to follow, but General Stuart-Gordon with a spring placed himself before her in the doorway.

"Let me pass, sir!"

"No, you shall not, by Heaven, madam! Louis is a fool; and you are—Mrs. Armstrong! Thank

"LET ME PASS, Sir!"
"Your carriage waits, madam! Will it please

"And you leave this roof without his know-ledge or consent?"
Oh! sir," murmured the poor little girl, in an almost inaudible voice, "I cannot find him. My mother—alone—insulted—all the child she has got—how could you?" and melted into a sea of tears."

"S.-." you to deliver us from the inconveni

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

CALIFORNIA, UNION, AND FREEDOM. SPEECH OF WILLIAM H. SEWARD. ON THE ADMISSION OF CALIFORNIA.

elivered in the Senate of the United States, March 11, 185 Four years ago, California, a Mexican Province, searcely inhabited and quite unexplored, was unknown even to our usually immoderate desires, except by a harbor, capacious and tranquil, which only statesmen then foresaw would be useful in the ori-

me spoke, as he replied—

"And I say, madam, that Mrs. Louis does not stir out of this house without her husband's permission being first obtained."

"Ha! ha! we shall see! Give me your arm, my daughter!"

"Lay off your bonnet and shawl, Louise!" commanded the General, in a tone so stern and peremptory, that the poor girl started, and instinctively and hurriedly obeyed.

"My daughter, are you mad? What are you doing? Resume your bonnet, and let us go!"

"Do not budge, Mrs. Louis! I command you!"

"Give me your arm, Louise! I command you!"

"Give me your arm, Louise! I command you!"

"Move at your peril. Mrs. Louis!" started, and instep."

"Am I to be obeyed, Louise?" sternly demanded

are bewildered by the ever-augmenting magnitude and rapidity of national vicissitudes!

SHALL CALIFORNIA BE RECEIVED? For myself, upon my individual judgment and conscience, I answer, Yes. For myself, as an instructed representative of one of the States, of that one even of the States which is soonest and longest to be pressed in commercial and political rivalry by the new Commonwealth, I answer, Yes. Let California come in. Every new State, whether she come from the East or from the West, every new State, coming from whatever part of the continent she may, is always welcome. But California, that comes from the cline where the west dies away into the rising east; California, which bounds at once the empire and the continent; California, the youthful queen of the Pacific, in her robes of freedom, gorgeously inlaid with gold—is doubly welcome.

And now I inquire first. Why should California.

cific, in her robes of freedom, gorgeously inlaid with gold—is doubly welcome.

And now I inquire, first, Why should California be rejected? All the objections are founded only in the circumstances of her coming, and in the organic law which she presents for our confirmation.

1st. California comes unceremoniously, without a preliminary consent of Congress, and therefore by usurpation. This allegation, I think, is not quite true; at least not quite true in spirit. California is not here of her own pure volition. We tore California violently from her place in the Confederation of Mexican States, and stipulated by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, that the territory should be admitted by States into the American Union as speedily as possible.

But the letter of the objection still holds. California does come without a preliminary consent by

to her feet as the blood rushed to her brow.

"Be calm, my daughter. Be composed; be lady-like. Remember yourself. Recollect that all such manifestations of feeling are vulgar. Be quiet—you see that I am."

"Oh, my dear mother! but you have been outraged!" said Louise, bursting into tears.

"My daughter, let us talk composedly. It is certain that I cannot remain here!"

"What do you say, Louise?" inquired the mother with surprise and delight, thinking her paths made very straight before her. "What do you say, Louise?" inquired the paths made very straight before her. "What do you say, Louise?"

"I say that I cannot stay here, mother!"

"Louis, this lady designs to separate you and congress to form a Constitution. But the letter of the objection still holds. California does come without a preliminary consent by Congress to form a Constitution. But Michigan and other States presented themselves in the same unathorized way, and Congress vaired the irregularity, and sanctioned the usurpation. California pleads the steep recedents. Is not the plea sufficient? But the letter of the objection still holds. California does come without a preliminary consent by Congress to form a Constitution. But Michigan and other States presented themselves in the same unathorized way, and Congress vaired the irregularity, and sanctioned the usurpation. California pleads these precedents. Is not the plea sufficient? But it has been said by the honorable Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Calhoun,] that the Crain does come without a preliminary consent by Congress to form a Constitution. But Michigan and other States presented themselves in the same unathorized way, and Congress vaired the irregularity, and sanctioned the usurpation. California pleads these precedents. Is not the plea sufficient? But it has been said by the honorable Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Calhoun,] that the Crain deep command, arrested the sevel and ther States presented themselves in the same unathorized way, and Congress vaired the strey pleads these prece been seen, had a treaty, and Congress, instead of giving previous consent, and instead of giving her the customary Territorial Government, as they did to Michigan, failed to do cither, and thus practically refused both, and so abandoned the new community, not unnecessarily and presumptuously, as Michigan did. She made a Constitution for herself, and she comes here under the law, the paramount law of self-

comes here under the law, the paramount law of selfpreservation.

In that she stands justified. Indeed, California is
more than justified. She was a colony, a military
colony. All colonies, especially military colonies, are
incongruous with our political system, and they are
equally open to corruption and exposed to oppression.
They are, therefore, not more unfortunate in their
own proper condition than fruitful of dangers to the
parent Democracy. California, then, acted wisely
and well in establishing self-government. She deserves not rebuke, but praise and approbation. Nor
does this objection come with a good grace from
those who offer it. If California were now content
to receive only a Territorial charter, we could not
agree to grant it without an inhibition of slavery,
which, in that case, being a Federal act, would render the attitude of California, as a Territory, even
more offensive to those who now repel her than she
is as a State, with the same inhibition in the Constitution of her own voluntary choice.

A second objection is, California has assigned her own boundaries without the previous authority of Congress. But she was left to organize herself without any boundaries fixed by previous law or by prescription. She was obliged, therefore, to assume boundaries, since without boundaries she must have remained unorganized.

A third objection is that California is too leave.

A third objection is, that California is too large. I answer, first, there is no common standard of States. California, although greater than many, is less than one of the States.

states. Cantorina, attnough greater than many, is less than one of the States.

Secondly. California, if too large, may be divided with her own consent, which is all the security we have for reducing the magnitude and averting the preponderance of Texas.

Thirdly. The boundaries of California seem not at all unnatural. The territory circumscribed is altogether contiguous and compact.

Fourthly. The boundaries are convenient. They embrace only inhabited portions of the country, commercially connected with the port of San Francisco. No one has pretended to offer boundaries more in harmony with the physical outlines of the region concerned, or more convenient for civil administration.

But to draw closer to the question, what shall be the boundaries of a new State concerns—

he boundaries of a new State concerns— First. The State herself, and California of course

the boundaries of a new State concerns—
First. The State herself, and California of course is content.

Secondly. Adjacent communities. Oregon does not complain of encroachment, and there is no other adjacent community to complain.

Thirdly. The other States of the Union. The larger the Pacific States, the smaller will be their relative power in the Senate. All the States now here are Atlantic States and inland States, and surely they may well indulge California in the largest liberty of boundaries.

The fourth objection to the admission of California is, that no census had been taken, and no laws prescribing the qualifications of suffrage and the apportionment of Representatives in Convention, existed before her Convention was held.

I answer, California was left to act ab initio. She must begin somewhere, without a census, and without such laws. The Pilgrim Fathers began in the same way on board the Mayflower; and, since it has been objected that some of the electors in California may have been aliens, I add, that all of the Pilgrim Fathers were aliens and strangers to the Commonwealth of Plymouth.

Again, the objection may well be accived, if the Constitution of California is satisfactory, first to herself, secondly to the United States.

First. Not a murmur of discontent has followed California to this place.

Second. As to ourselves, we confine our inquiries about the constitution of a new State to four things—1st. The boundaries assumed; and I have considered that point in this case already.

2d, That the domain within the State is secured to us. And it is admitted that this has been properly done.

3d That the Constitution shall be republican, and not aristocratic or monarchical. In this case the only objection is that the Constitution, inasmuch as it inhibits slavery, is altogether too republican.

orly done.

3d That the Constitution shall be republican, and not aristocratic or monarchical. In this case the only objection is that the Constitution, inasmuch as it inhibits slavery, is altogether too republican.

4th. That the representation claimed shall be just and equal. No one denies that the population of California, is sufficient to demand two representatives on the federal basis; and, secondly, a new census is at hand, and the error, if there is one, will be immediately corrected.

The fifth objection is—California comes under Executive influence. 1st. In her coming as a free State. 2d. In her coming at all.

The first charge rests on suspicion only, is peremptorly denied, and the denial is not controverted by proofs. I dismiss it altogether.

The second is true, to the extent that the present President advised the people of California, that, having been left without any civil government, under the military supervision of the Executive, without any authority of law whatever, the adoption of a Constitution, subject to the approval of Congress, would be regarded favorably by the President. Only a year ago, it was complained that the exercise of the military power to maintain law and order in California, was a fearful innovation. But now the wind has changed, and blows even stronger from the opposite quarter.

May this Republic never have a President commit a more serious or more dangerous usurpation of power than the act of the present eminent Chief

May this Republic never have a President commit a more serious or more dangerous usurpation of power than the act of the present eminent Chief Magistrate, in endeavoring to induce legislative au-thority to relieve him from the exercise of military power, by establishing civil institutions regulated by law in distant provinces! Rome would have been

enable us to say that the aggregate population of the That 10 years hence it will be

ation of the 22,000,000 t 30,000 000 8 38,000,000 64,000,000 80,000,000 200,000,000 " 20 do do " 30 do do " 40 do do " 50 do do " 100, that is, in the year 1950

"50 do - 80,000,000 equal nearly to one-fourth of the present aggregate population of the globe, and double the population of Europe at the time of the discovery of America.

But the advance of population on the Pacific will far exceed what has heretofore occurred on the Atlantic coast, while emigration even here is outstripping the calculations on which the estimates are based. There are silver and gold in the mountain and ravines of California. The granite of New England and New York is barren.

Allowing due consideration to the increasing density of our population, we are safe in assuming, that long before this mass shall have attained the maximum of numbers indicated, the entire width of our possessions from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean will be covered by it, and be brought into social maturity and complete political organization.

The question now arises, Shall this one great people, having a common origin, a common language, a common religion, common sentiments, interests, sympathies, and hopes, remain one political State, one nation, one republic, or shall it be broken into two conflicting and probably hostile nations or republics? There cannot ultimately be more than two. For the habit of association is already formed, at it is already ascertained where the centre of political power must rest. It must rest in the agricultural interests and masses, who will occupy the interior of one in the mixed consideration of liberty, gold, and power, on the Pacific coast.

This wiew of legislative compromises is not new. It has widely prevailed, and many of the State Constitutions interdict the introduction of more than one subject into one bill submitted for legislative actions interdict the introduction of more than one subject into one bill submitted for legislative compromises is not new. It has widely prevailed, and many of the State Constitutions interdict the introduction of more than one of the loftiest bursts of even his majestic parallementary eloquence:

"Far, far from the commons of Great Britain be cal power must rest. It must rest in the agricultural interests and masses, who will occupy the interior of

ed in their approaches to that one, which offers the greatest facilities to their commorce.

Shall the American people, then, be divided? Before deciding on this question, let us consider our position, our power, and capabilities.

The world contains no seat of empire so magnificent as this; which, while it embraces all the varying climates of the temperate zone, and is traversed by wide expanding lakes and long-branching rivers, offers supplies on the Atlantic shores to the overcrowded nations of Europe, while on the Pacific coast it intercepts the commerce of the Indies. The nation thus situated, and enjoying forest, mineral, and agricultural resources unequalled, if endowed also with moral energies adequate to the achievement of great enterprises and favored with a Government adapted to their character and condition, must command the empire of the seas, which alone is real empire.

we think, that we may claim to have inherited

we tunns, that we may ciaim to have inherited physical and intellectual vigor, courage, invention, and enterprise; and the systems of education prevailing among us open to all the stores of human science and art.

The old world and the past were allotted by Providence to the pupiling of mankind, under the hard discipline of arbitrary power, quelling the violence of human passions. The new world and the future seem to have been appointed for the maturity of mankind, with the development of self-government operating in obedience to reason and judgment.

We have thoroughly tried our novel system of Democratic Federal Government, with its complex, yet harmonious and effective combination of distinct local elective agencies, for the conduct of domestic affairs, and its common central elective agencies, for the regulation of internal interests and of intercourse with foreign nations; and we know, that it is a system equally cohesive in its parts, and capable of all desirable expansion; and that it is a system, moreover, perfectly alapted to secure domestic tranquillity, while it brings into activity all the elements of national aggrandizement. The Atlantic States, through their commercial, social, and political affinities and sympathies, are steadily renovating the Governments and the social constitutions of Europe and of Africa. The Pacific States must necessarily perform the same sublime and beneficent functions in Asia. If, then, the American people shall remain an undivided nation, the ripening civilization of the West, after a separation growing wider and wider for four thousand years, will, in its circuit of the world, meet again and mingle with the declining civilization of the East on our own free soil, and a new and more perfect civilization will arise to bless the earth, under the sway of our own cherished and beneficent democratic institutions.

We may then reasonably hope for greatness, felicity, and renown, excelling any hitherto attained by any nation, if, standing firmly on the continent, we have a sub

equal share of yours, or sovereignty and independence of her own.

Will you say that California could not aggrandize herself by separation? Would it, then, be a mean ambition to set up within fifty years, on the Pacific coast, monuments like those which we think two hundred years have been well spent in establishing on the Atlantic coast?

Will you say that California has no ability to become independent? She has the same moral ability for enterprise that inheres in us, and that ability implies command of all physical means. She has advantages of position. She is practically further removed from you than England. You cannot reach her by railroad, nor by unbroken steam mavingation. You can send no armles over the prairie, the mountain, and the desert, nor across the remote and narrow Isthmus within a foreign jurisdiction, nor around the Cape of Storms. You may send a navy there, but she has only to open her mines, and she can seduce your navies and appropriate your floating bulwarks to her own defence. Let her only seize your domain within her borders, and your

standing this day, if she had had such generals and such tribunes.

3d. But the objection, whether true in part, or even in the whole, is immaterial. The question is, not what moved California to impress any particular feature on her Constitution, nor even what induced her to adopt a Constitution, and all, but it is whether, stnee she has adopted a Constitution, she at the constitution at the constitution and the constitution of the constitut

the District of Columbia; forbearance towards more stringent laws concerning the arrest of persons suspected of being slaves found in the free States; forbearance from the *Proviso* of freedom in the charters of new Territories. None of the plans of compromise offered demand less than two, and most of them insist on all of these conditions. The equivalent this incomparation of them. alent then is, some portion of liberty, some portion of human rights in one region for liberty in another region. But California brings gold and commerce as well as freedom. I am, then, to surrender some portion of human freedom in the District of Columbia, and in East California and New Mexico, for the mixed consideration of liberty, gold, and paper as

But, sir, if I could overcome my repugnance to compromises in general, I should object to this one, on the ground of the inequality and incongruity of the interests to be compromised. Why, sir, according to the views I have submitted, California ought to come in, and must come in, whether slavery stands or falls in the District of Columbia; whether slavery stands or falls in New Mexico and Eastern California; and even whether slavery stands or falls in the slave States. California ought stands or falls in the slave States. California ought to come in, being a free State; and, under the circumstances of her conquest, her compact, her abandonment, her justifiable and necessary establishment of a Constitution, and the inevitable dismemberment of the empire consequent upon her rejection, I should have voted for her admission even if she had come as a slave State. California ought to come in, and must come in at all events. It is, then, an independent, a paramount question. What, then, are these questions arising out of slavery, thus interposed, but collateral questions? They are unnecessary and incongruous, and therefore false issues, not introduced designedly, indeed, to defeat that great policy, yet unavoidably tending to that end.

end.
Mr. FOOTE, Will the honorable Senator allow me to ask him, if the Senate is to understand him as saying that he would vote for the admission of California if she came here seeking admission as a California if she came here seeking admission as a slave State.

Mr. SEWARD. I reply, as I said before, that even if California had come as a slave State, yet coming under the extraordinary circums ances I have described, and in view of the consequences of a dismemberment of the empire, consequent upon her rejection, I should have voted for her admission, even though she had come as a slave State. But I should not have voted for her admission of the compart in the next place, that consent on my snould not have voted for her admission otherwise. I remark in the next place, that consent on my part would be disingenuous and fraudulent, because the compromise would be unavailing.

It is now avowed by the honorable Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Calhoux,] that nothing will satisfy the slave States but a compromise that will convince them that they can remain in the Union consistently with their honor and their specty.

consistently with their honor and their safety.
And what are the concessions which will have that
effect? Here they are, in the words of that Senator: "The North must do justice by conceding to the South an equal right in the acquired territory, and do her duty by causing the stipulations relative to fugitive slaves to be faithfully fulfilled—cease the agitation of the slave question, and provide for the insertion of a provision in the Constitution, by an amendment, which will restore to the South in substance the power she possessed of protecting herself, before the equilibrium between the sections was destroyed by the action of this Government."

These terms amount to this, that the free States

herself, before the equilibrium between the sections was destroyed by the action of this Government."

These terms amount to this, that the free States having already, or although they may hereafter have, majorities in both Houses of Congress, shall concede to the slave States, being in a minority in both, the unequal advantage of an equality. That is, that we shall alter the Constitution so as to convert the Government from a national democracy, operating by a constitutional majority of voices, into a federal alliance, in which the minority shall have a veto against the majority. And this is to return to the original articles of confederation.

I will not stop to protest against the injustice or the inexpediency of an innovation which, if it was practicable, would be so entirely subversive of the principle of democratic institutions. It is enough to say that it is totally impracticable. The free States, Northern and Western, acquiesced in the long and nearly unbroken ascendancy of the slave States under the Constitution, because the result happened under the Constitution. But they have honor and interests to preserve, and there is nothing in the nature of mankind or in the character of that people to induce an expectation that they, loyal as they are, are insensible to the duty of defending them. But the scheme would still be impracticable, even if this difficulty were overcome. What is proposed is a political equilibrium. Every political equilibrium requires a physical equilibrium to rest upon, and is valueless without it. To constitute a physical equilibrium or the supen and is valueless without it. To constitute a physical equilibrium or est upon, and is valueless without it. To constitute a physical equilibrium or est upon, and is valueless without it. To constitute a physical equilibrium or est upon, and is valueless without it. To constitute a physical equilibrium or est upon, and is valueless without it. To constitute a physical equilibrium or est upon, and is valueless without it. To constitute a physi

librium claims that it once existed, and has been lost. When lost, and how? It began to be lost in 1787, when preliminary arrangements were made to admit five new free States in the Northwest Territory, two years before the Constitution was finally adopted; that is, it began to be lost two years before it began to exist!

Sir, the equilibrium, if restored, would be lost again and lost more rapidly than it was before. The progress of the free population is to be accelerated by increased emigration from Europe and Asia, while that of the slaves is to be checked and retarded by inevitable partial emancipation. "Nothing," says Montesquieu, "reduces a man so low as always to see freemen, and yet not be free. Persons in that condition are natural enemies of the State, and their numbers would be dangerous if increased too high." Sir, the fugitive slave colonies and the emancipated slave colonies in the free States, in Canada, and in Liberia, are the best guaranties South Carolina has fer the perpetuity of slavery.

Nor would success attend any of the details of the compromise. And, first, I advert to the proposed alteration of the law concerning fugitives from service or labor. I shall speak on this as on all subjects, with due respect, but yet frankly and witheut reservation. The Constitution contains only a compact, which rests for its execution on the States,

kaulding

[CONTINUED FROM FOURTH PAGE.]

are now entirely unable to resist the three that the high the demands, but contrive to show their ill thing he demands, but contrive to show their ill temper in various ways. For instance, last week, when the ministry insisted on the Chambers passing without notice the matter in dispute, as to the jurisdiction of the Erfurt tribunal over the difficulty in Mechlenburg Schwerin, the Chambers declared by a large majority in favor of the tribunal. But this ill temper is transitory. In all important matters they do as they are bid.

This may be seen by the votes on these important laws—that on clubs, that on the press, and that on the communes. In the first, many restrictions are laid on the right of assembling, such as giving previous notice to the police, admitting the police, heavy penalties for seditious language, &c; in the second, the newspapers hereafter commenced are subjected to the necessity of depositing a certain amount of money with the

of depositing a certain amount of money with the Government, as security for their sobriety of lan-

Government, as security for their sobriety of language; a daily must deposite four thousand dollars, and others in proportion. Papers now in existence are to be subjected to this clause, on condemnation by a tribunal for language calculated to excite. And here let me say, that a German paper is little calculated to excite by any quality except its long-windedness and stupidity, the sense being to the words as a grain of wheat to a bushel of chaff. You shall hunt for it all day, and not find it—and if you do it is not worth the

and not find it—and if you do, it is not worth the search. There is but one political journal in Berlin, which can say a thing plainly, and knows when it is said. I refer to the National. By the

third law—that on communes—the electoral fran-chise is taken from all in the country who do not pay two dollars annual tax, and from all in the

daily, and a great impression has been made on the public mind by the debates. It is not easy to foresee what the result will be. The Government

rorese what the result will be. The Government is determined to convict, but it is likely that the greater part of those indicted will be acquitted Verdicts of "not guilty" have recently been given, in similar cases, at Bromberg, Wierbaden, Breslau, and several other places. The Government is anxious for the introduction of its Star Chamber court for political offences. Several of

the jurymen, in the case now pending here, have petitioned the King to grant an amnesty for all past offences. The petition was flatly rejected, the minister answering that his Majesty had granted two amnesties already, and the democrats behaved no better before than after.

The Habeas Corpus act has just been promu

gated. Its provisions are better than those of similar laws in several of the United States. If

an epoch in the history of the practice in Prussia.

Heretofore there has been none at all, but the

Government arrested at pleasure, and frequently left a person in prison several years without a

A ministerial crisis is now pending in Hanover. The King wishes to bind himself closely to the

temberg, Hanover, and Saxony, are called, will

will not be commenced against Switzerland, unless

vote is, that the President and his supporters can hold down the masses in France, it seems pretty

well resolved on that Switzerland must be as

ferred until the 10th of March.

of eighteen millions, to meet an expected in

BENNETT'S SALOON.

The reception and exhibition room is furnish-

mber court for political offences. Several of

action in behalf of California.

Since the swearing to the Constitution, the Chambers have continued their labors. They are now entirely unable to resist the King in anything he demands, but contrive to show their ill

OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

ters from our Foreign correspondent. The one of latest date is commenced on the 4th page.

COMMUNICATIONS.

It is of no use for any one to send us communi cations now. We cannot publish them. Scarcely can we find room for ourselves; and even advertisers have been crowded out once or twice lately, by Congressional speeches. Were the Era ten times larger than it is, we could fill it with communications already accumulated in our pigeon-

The House, after the transaction of the usua morning business, and after the disposition of priation Bill.

Mr. Hale followed him, but, after speaking some time, gave way for a motion to adjourn. His speech, as well as that of Mr. Giddings. will be published in our next; and we intend to follow them with something on the Southern side.

ne of our last number, we have had the pleasure of seeing a full report of the speech of the Hon. Orin Fowler of Massachusetts, delivered in the House of Representatives, on the 11th inst. Being the first voice from Massachusetts after the great effort of Mr. Webster, we were curious to learn how far it would respond to his sentiments. Some of the Representatives from that State, we knew would not sustain him. and it is quite uncertain whether any of them the law be faithfully administered, it will form will.

The speech of Mr. Fowler is sound, sensible and vigorous, and it is obvious that parts of it are intended to furnish a reply to certain portions of Mr. Webster's argument. Mr. Webster had said that the Proviso incorporated in a territorial bill for New Mexico would be a taunt to the South-and that, New Mexico needed no Proviso to keep her free. Mr. Fowler does not appear to be in the least convinced by such authority. He says :-

The King wishes to bind himself closely to the policy of Austria; the ministry, on the contrary, wishes to keep free from all engagement with other Powers. The result may be important in the history of North Germany. An article in a Hanover paper on the Interim at Frankfort has excited a great deal of attention. It is said to be from the pen of Struve, the Prime Minister. He says that the four Kings, as the Kings of Baviria, Wurtemberg, Hallower and Sayany are called will never consent to the prolongation of the Lucrim, unless important modifications of its powers and nature be made. What these are he does not say, but he hints that the great States of Prussia and Austria have taken the lion's share, in divid-I am resolved to apply the Proviso to that territory—not to injure any one's feelings, nor to wound any one's pride—but because it is constitutional and right, and, as I judge, eminently a prudent and practical measure. The application of this principle to the Northwest Territory was a prudent and practical measure. I believe its application to California and New Mexico will The war question continues to occupy the public attention. The probability seems to be, that war be no less so. Without the application, Illinois—noble Illinois—would have been a slave State. the conservatives in France get the victory at the 10th of March elections. If the result of the she did but just escape being so, with the Proviso upon her. If it be not applied to California and New Mexico, in my opinion, they, in no long time, will be slave States. I will, therefore, vote overrun, and reduced to the situation she to apply it to both of them, and to all other free

Indemnity was conceded by Great Britain for put down. The Swiss Government has long ago offered to do all in its power to give satisfaction in respect to the fugitives. Those still in Switzerland are closely watched, and are not respect to the fugitives. Those still in Switzerland are closely watched, and are not respect to the fugitives. limited by mountains or plains, by soil or climate, by occupation or by latitude, is an absurdity. Were slavery allowed in California or New Mexico, any one conversant with the history of the last sixty years will see that those countries would be overrun with slavery in a twelvemonth.

" But for the fear of robbery under the forms In the mean time, Prussia is preparing for war. The Chambers have just granted an extra credit of law, there would be at least fifty thousand slaves in California by the first of December. It is the best field for such labor now in America, of sighteen millions, to meet an expected increase of army expenses during the present year. The question, however, is still involved in mystery. The clouds may lift from it before the departure of the next steamer. Yours, &c. W. B. nd it would be invaluable to us as a means of thinning the black population. When people say that the climate and productions are unsuited to

use the first, the second, and every occasion, to apply the Proviso of '87 to every acre of free We recently called the attention of our readers territory we now possess, or may possess. I would apply it to territory, lie where it may—to Greenland, Nova Zembla, Cuba, Yucatan, the to the beautiful Daguerreotypes taken by Bennett, at his gallery on Pennsylvania avenue, near 7th street, and we now take pleasure in noticing the splendid manner in which he has fitted up his reception and sitting-rooms. We are confident that no similar establishment in this, or in any to Greenland, Nova Zembla, Cuba, Yucatan, the Arctic and the Antarctic regions, and to the Tor-rid Zone—to any and every part of the earth's surface, if it belong to the United States.

"If a bill for organizing any territory is re-ported to this House, without the Proviso, while other city, can surpass it in the elegance of its have the honor of a seat in it, I will move and rote for its insertion.

Every member has a right to his own judgment.

and costly description, and resembles the boudoir of a fashionable lady more than a public reception room. Immediately in the rear of this room is a private parlor intended for the express accommo-dation of ladies who are in waiting for a sitting, and who prefer seclusion to the bustle of show room.

The sitting-room in the story above is in per-

The sitting-room in the story above is in perfect keeping with the rooms below, and is furnished with all the necessary appliances for the production of perfect daguerrectypes. The light by which portraits are taken is introduced from the roof of the building, and so arranged that the lights and shades of the picture are produced with unusual strength and distinctness, thus rendering the likeness more correct and life-like than those taken by the ordinary mode. territory. No, never !? hose taken by the ordinary mode. Taken as a whole the establishment of Mr. Bennett is one of which our citizens have reason to be proud, and we are sure the enterprising proprietor will receive that encouragement his en-terprise and taste so well merit.—Washington

The Lowell Courier says that the rush for California from that city and vicinity seems to be as great as ever. Forty emigrants started in one train, to take the steamer from New York. Quite a number went from the different corporations, and others who have for some years been in

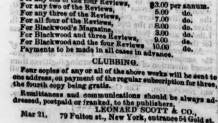
BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE AND THE BRITISH

QUARTERLY REVIEWS.

OWING to the late revolutions and counter-revolutions among the nations of Europe, which have followed each other in anch quick succession, and of which "the end is not yet," the leading periodicals of Britain have become invested with a degree of interest hitherto unknown. They occupy a middle ground between the hasty, disjointed, and necessarily imperfect records of the newspapers, and the elsborate and ponderous treat'sse to be furnished by the hist-rian at a future day. The American publishers, therefore, deem it proper to call renewed attention to these periodicals, and the very low prices at which they are offered to subscribers. The following is their list, viz: THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW,

BLACKWOOD'S EDINB'GH MAGAZINE BLACK WOOD'S ENAMED AND SENTENCE OF THE SENTEN

British Review" owes its establishement to the last; colesiastical movement in Scotland, and is not ultra is views on any one of the grand departments of human k ledge; it was originally edited by Dr. Chalmers, and aliace his death, is conducted by his son-in-law, Dr. He associated with Sir David Brewster. Its literary chiter is of the very highest order. setminster," though reprints under the blished in England under the title of the "F saly and Westminster," it being in fact a underly and Westminster," it being in fact a under the saly and the saly a



THE NATIONAL ERA. WASHINGTON, MARCH 21, 1850.

The reader will find two highly interesting let-

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS ON TUESDAY.

In the Senate, Mr. Badger closed his speech on Slavery. He denounced the Wilmot Proviso, but admitted, as we understand, that Congress has the power to pass it. He did not think its passage a sufficient ground for a dissolution of the Union, but he predicted the worst consequen-

pay two dollars annual tax, and from all in the large cities who do not possess an income varying, according to the size of the city, from two to three hundred dollars. This cuts off at least one-third of the people from the right to vote.

The leading object of interest in Berlin, at the present time, is the trial of the 42 members of the Assembly of last year, for encouraging the people to refuse the tax. The court-room is crowded

REVIEW OF THE WEEK. THE HOUSE.

RESPONSE TO MR. WEBSTER .- Since the is-

"The complaint, that, by applying it to New Mexico, we taunt the South, comes with no good grace from the counsellors of a free Republic. territory, whenever, and as often, as the occasion

held in 1846. The complaint against the harbor-ing of fugitives is said by Switzerland to be a zerland are closely watched, and are not permitted to engage in any plots or intrigues. There are many more fugitives harbored in France and England. Why are not they attacked? The Assemblee Nationale of Paris, a good authority on such matters, says that the attack has been deformed until the 10th of Mexica. The honorable member from Virginia, [Mr. Mende,] frankly declares, in his speech:

slave labor, they are either endeavoring to deceive, or are deceived themselves.

This right belongs to others—it belongs to me. I have formed my judgment of the value, and necessity, and constitutionality of the Ordinance of '87, deliberately—I have avowed it frankly. And now, alone or not alone—sink or swim—live or die—let who will abandon it, I will adhere to it. I will adhere to it in all places—at all times— under all circumstances. In no case will I partici-pate in extending the slave power into free territory. No, never! In no case will I participate in withholding the Ordinance of '87 from free

REACTION .- Mr. W. A. GORMAN, a Democratic nember from Indiana, the next day in the House, delivered a speech very different from that just noticed. His great theme was, Non-Intervention. This was the doctrine on which the Democratic party had gone into the contest, the last Presidential election; and, he might have added, the doctrine on which it had been defeated. There was some truth, however, in his remark that all parties with but few exceptions were now giving in their adhesion to this policy. Some truth, we say-for certainly it is the policy now insisted upon by General Taylor, Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster. On this fact Mr. Gorman made an appeal to the Democratic party to rally as one man in support of the Baltimore Platform.

doubt not the appeal will be responded to by too many. True, the Democracy in nearly all the free States stands committed by legislative resolves, and the declarations of State Conventions to the Wilmot Proviso, but we observe in every direction signs of wavering. For a time, the prospect was fair of a regeneration of the entire Party at the North, but Hunkerism is regaining its ascendency. The spirit of reaction is

busily at work. The Democrats in the Pennsylvania Legislature have openly renounced, as we understand it, the policy of Slavery Restriction. In the Michigan Legislature they abstained from re-affirming their resolves. The Democratic State Convention of Connecticut not long since formally rejected the Wilmot Proviso, as did the Ohio State Democratic Convention last January. These are signs of defection and apostacy not to be mistaken. How far the political leaders who are devoted to this work of reaction, will be sustained by the masses, remains yet to be seen. Meantime they find co-workers in Congress, among whom Mr. Gorman seems anxious to obtain some notoriety. His speech was a small specimen of stump oratory, characterized chiefly by devotion to the outh, and hatred of Free Soil. The following hoice morsel was received with a smile, almost, from some of the few Southern men who listened

"I said to my constituents, and I say here to-day that this Proviso 'was conceived in sin, and brought forth in iniquity,' by Martin Van Buren, through a deep-seated desire to avenge his disap-pointed ambition. It was intended to defeat pointed ambition. It was intended to dereat Lewis Cass and the Democratic party. Yes, Mr. Chairman, this 'son of York,' that the great Democratic party had nursed, reared, and ca-ressed, and into whose nostrils they had breathed the breath of political life, when he came to full maturity, 'turned to a serpent, and stung his political benefactors to death.'"

BRIEF NOTICES .- Mr. Butler, a Whig member from Connecticut, followed Mr. Gorman, in an involve no sacrifice of honor or principle on the part of the South. But the Southern members earnest, a direct, and straight-forward speech, in favor of the restriction of slavery, referring for reject it, and will be satisfied with nothing less than a formal renunciation by the North of the his arguments, not to party expediency, but to Truth and Right Wilmot Proviso, or the policy of slavery restriction, and it is to compel this that they resist all

The rest of the speeches in the House last week on the Slavery Question were delivered by Mr. Disney of Ohio, Mr. Hebard of Vermont and Mr. Morse of Louisiana. Mr. Disney is a highly respectable gentleman

but as a politician, he may be said to be a perpetual amen to General Cass. His speech was an argument in favor of the doctrines of the Nicholson Letter; but we are informed that he avowed, in concluding it, his intention to vote for the Wilmot Proviso. Whether in so doing he would misrepresent his own opinions, we know not, but he would certainly represent fairly the views and wishes of his constituency. There can be no mistake as to the public opinions of the citizens of all parties of Hamilton county.

Mr. Morse, a Democratic member from Louisiana, is a native, if we mistake not, of New Engsome matters on the Speaker's table, resolved land. He is now one of the most ultra pro-slavery itself into Committee of the Whole on the state men. His speech was as sombre as that of Mr. of the Union, and took up the Deficiency Appro- Calhoun. He spoke of the alienation of the two adopted; that the 'omnibus' bill may then be resections of the Union, springing out of the aggres sions of the North.

sions of the North.

"When before," he asked, "did the people of the two sections look upon each other with dislike? Formerly, the youth of the South were educated in the North. Now they do not go there, because of the dislike of the North to the South. I will not go over the array of melancholy foots showing that the actions are now assentially facts showing that the sections are now essentially alienated in feeling."

Insanity may reason logically, but it is sure to nake false assumptions. These Southern dismionists manifest this characteristic of mania. They are forever mistaking fancies for facts. Formerly the youth of the South, Mr. Morse says, were educated at the North: now they do not go there because of the dislike of the North to the South!

Just after we had read this remark, we picked p the Richmond (Va) Whig, in which occurred e following paragraph:

"The following young gentlemen from Virginia hove been graduated at the Jefferson Medical Col-lege at Philadelphia: Zebulon M. P. Anderson, Henry O. Austin, Isaac T. Ballow, Nathanie Barksdale, James P. Bott," &c., &c. It goes on to enumerate sixty-three young Virginia graduates this year of the Jefferson College-and it must be remembered that this is but one of the medical institutions of Philadelphia.

and that the old Pennsylvania College has a far larger proportion of Virginia students. Mr. Morse was quite as accurate in this state ment as in the following, which he thinks furnishes another instance of the alien feeling of the

"When wrong is done abroad to the rights of any American citizen, the South were ready to draw the sword for his defence. A few years ago, this feeling existed at the North with reference to the slave property of the South. Mr. Van Buren had once obtained indemnity (Mr. M. was understood to say) from England, on account of her violation of those rights. Since, American slaves have been liberated by the English Government; but no statesman will now venture to risk his popularity by preasing a claim for in-

The truth is, a series of claims was made by our Government, at successive periods, on England, for indemnity for slaves wrecked or driven by stress of weather on the coasts of the West Indies, where they were liberated. The latest negotiations on the subject were conducted by Mr. Webster, under the administration of John Tyler; and for his state papers, arguing the right of property in slaves and the justice of indemnity, he received the high approbation of John C. Cal-

beings within her jurisdiction, no matter how inment has discontinued such claims as Mr. Morse North, when from the time Mr. Webster wrote Davis of Mississippi grandiloquently styles him. his letters to Lord Ashburton, the Government "I am willing-yea more, I am resolved-to has been administered by slaveholders, and for thirteen to compromise all matters relating to most of that time by Democratic slaveholders?

Mr. Morse contended, as nearly all the Southern politicians have contended, that on the acquisition of territory from Mexico, the Constitution of the United States became at once operative there, and as the Constitution guaranties the rights of the slaveholder, it effectually set aside whatever local laws of the territory might conflict with it.

This is the prevailing doctrine in one half of the States of this Union, and yet Northern politicians, anxious to please the South, and keep up their party arrangements, or afraid of the chivalry, and yet no less anxious to satisfy their Northern constituents, declaim against the Proviso as unnecessary, a mere useless abstraction, because slavery is already excluded from the Territories by their local laws!

MOVEMENTS IN THE HOUSE.—The proceedings of the House are as yet without much interest Members speak, not with any hope of convincing, but to satisfy their constituents. The debate on the California question is evidently exhausted, and had the Northern members nerve and skill, or were the Southern members actuated by right feelings, the question would be brought to a close, by the admission of the new State. The opposition against this measure rests upon

no ground of principle. The Richmond (Va.) Whig

"On principle, then, we cannot see how the admission of California can be resisted. As to delaying its admission for the purpose of coercing the settlement of the whole subject of slavery, that is a different

That is the secret. Southern members, though convinced that there is nothing in the action of the Chief Executive, nothing in the proceedings of the People of California, that should prejudice their claims to admission; that they stand fully justified in the position they have taken; that they have all the requisites of a State; and though they can urge no valid reason against their recognition, still resist, that they may coerce a settlement, as it is called, of the whole slave question!

To remand California to a territoral condition would be no gain to them. The people thus maltreated, if they did not set up for themselves, would only regard with increased disgust system which had been strong enough to replunge them into anarchy. To admit California as a State, would be no

sacrifice of Southern pride, but it would be in accordance with Southern principle. What do Southern men gain by delaying a decision? Increased agitation. But should they succeed in coercing a settlement, as it is called, what would it amount to? Pass the slave-catching bill of Mr. Butler, and not one more fagitive will be caught, while thousands more freemen will be rendered dead-

ly hostile to the claims of slavery. Establish Perritorial Government for New Mexico without the Proviso, and you simply enact that the slavery agitation shall go on. The Free Soil party would receive fresh accessions, and the places of the Doughfaces would be speedily supplied by men. What a demand to make on the North! By admitting California, no Southern man would sacrifice his honor or his principles; but he insists, as a condition to his toleration of this

measure, so just, so reasonable, so truly American,

that the Northern members shall renonnce their

honor and principles. He will not even accept

non-action, which is virtually leaving the question

Will Northern members sell their principles, and submit to this base humiliation, to purchase the admission of a State, whose recognition ought never to have been contested? We shall see. It distinguished Senator, that there are 118 members in the House in favor of a sort of compromise bill, hitherto resisted by non-slaveholders, is to be in-

It is thought that some Northern or Western

Democrat may move in Committee of the Whole a substitute for the California bill, embracing in addition a Territorial Government for New Mexico without the Proviso, and a section providing for the more efficient reclamation of fugitives; that, as the yeas and nays cannot be called in Committee of the Whole, the substitute may be ported and adopted without amendment, under the operation of the previous question. The previous question outs off all amendments; and, as a slaveholding speaker would occupy the chair, he would recognise the member who should demand it. In this way the friends of freedom would be party, indulges in similar laudations. entrapped, and reduced to the alternative of all or one—that is, of voting for the admission of California, with all the miserable appendages to it, or

voting against the whole. Such is the game that may be played. We shall keep our readers advised of every act in the drama. Meantime, it may be well enough to say, that though in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, accommodating members may escape the responsibility of the yeas and nays, they can be compelled to walk through tellers, under eyes that will not wink at any movements that look like treason to the people.

SENATE. But two formal speeches were delivered lass mark, and his speech, delivered to a thin audience, produced no impression.

Mr. Douglas occupied portions of two days, in force the admission of Canfornia. He admitted ple. It fears not God, it regards not man. It that he had at first been opposed to the present boundaries of California. He should have preferred two States, both of which would have been on the other hand, Conscience and Consistency free: but, after deliberating a long while on the subject, he had come to the conclusion that it was now too late to propose any alteration of the yet to be solved, though the Southern papers prehoundaries.

Mr. Douglas took occasion to insist upon the obligatory force of legislative instructions, in opposition to the views presented by Mr. Webster, and to this part of his speech we listened with unalloyed satisfaction. When a Senator finds himself instructed by the Legislature which elected him, in relation to his action on any question, and when he has reason to believe that such instruction is in accordance with the will of the majority of the people of his State, he is bound on every principle of a Representative Government, to obey instructions; or, if his conscience forbid, promptly to resign. To do otherwise, is to usurp power, and to defeat the end of a Democratic Representative Government, which is, to secure the execution of the will of their agents assume the responsibility of disre-

garding their will? Aside from these formal speeches, the proceedings of the Senate have been important. By measured terms. It objects particularly that Mr. reference to our Congressional record, it will be seen that the unreasonable usage by which Anti-Slavery petitions have hitherto been disposed of, laws now know no slavery or right of property in by laying the question of their reception on the man, within the whole circuit of her dominions, table, has been overturned. Petitions praying for her fixed rule is to regard and treat all human the prohibition of savery in the Territories, against the admission of any more slave States, troduced there, as free persons, incapable of sus- and for the establishment of jury trial in the case taining the relations of property, or of being val- of alleged fugitives from service or labor, have ued in dollars and cents. Hence, our Govern- been received and referred, several members from slaveholding States voting for the reception, and refers to. But were not the facts in relation to but one Senator from the North against it. Daniel Great Britain as we have stated them, with what Dickinson of New York enjoys that unenviable pretence of truth could Mr. Morse blame the distinction-"The Bayard of the North," as Mr.

Mr. Foote's motion for a select committee of slavery, is at last regularly before the Senate, but under such circumstances that it cannot be nushed to a speedy decision. The motion is to refer to such a committee the resolutions of Mr. Bell, and to this motion an amendment is pending, providing that said committee shall not be authorized to take into consideration the subject of the admission of California. The only effect, then, of | kind! the movement so far, is, the introduction of another series of general propositions, on which the whole question of slavery may be debated. The desire of Mr. Benton and some other leading Senators is, to keep the question of the admission of California distinct from all other subjects, so that it may stand upon its own merits. This is sensible, and were it the aim of Senators generally to expedite business, they would concur in this policy, and pass a bill immediately for the admis-

sion of the new State. It will be observed that Mr. Cass availed himself of the motion of Mr. Foote, to make a speech somewhat discursive in its character, upon the general question of slavery. He attacked some of the positions of Mr. Calhoun, but it will not be overlooked that he repeatedly made admissions which afford ground for the inference that there is no demand of the South Carolina Senator, even an amendment of the Constitution so as to secure equality of political power between the two sections, which he might not be induced to vote for, in certain contingencies. The truth is, the venerable gentleman is frightened. He believes all he hears about a dissolution of the Union. He seems to be in a state of perpetual trepidation, lest the stars in our political system should suddenly start from their setite, rush madly against each

other, and chaos and old night should come again. The speech of Mr. Calhoun clearly took ground beyond the wishes of the Southern Senators generally. It left no room for compromise. It made charges which, if true, justified disunion, and it laid down conditions to continued union, impossible to be complied with. Mr. Foote of Mississippi was the only Southern Senator who had the courage to put the true construction on the speech, and then to protest against it; and in so doing, he disclosed the fact that he spoke for the great majority of the Senators from the South. Why should they put Mr. Foote forward to bear the brunt of a conflict with the formidable South Carolinian? Why did they not openly declare their dissent? Mr. Calhoun is feared more than any other member of the Senate. He seems to be considered as the embodiment of the Slave Power. The Southern men have put themselves into his hands, and now, when they find that he is conducting them rapidly to revolution, they are anxious to extricate themselves from his leadership, and yet shrink from the attitude of opposition to him, lest they should be suspected of disloyalty to the South. But they must decide speedily whom they will serve-John C. Calhoun or the Union.

Unionism and Calhounism have no more affini ty with each other than light and darkness. No man could concoct such a speech as Mr. Calhoun delivered, unless he aimed at disunion. He knew that an amendment of the Constitution, so as to secure an equality of political power between the North and the South, or any other two sections of the country, was impracticable; that two thirds of each branch of Congress would never amend such a measure; that three-fourths of the States would never countenance it; and, therefore, in stating such an amendment as an

Mr. Seward, we thought, went out of his way, Such charity is superfluous.

THE COUNTRY. The speech of Mr. Webster meets with unanimous applause from the Southern press, but with is asserted by the Union, on the authority of a only partial approbation from the Northern. The in which every claim made by slaveholders, and in language, generous and conciliatory in tone, and

the effort with "admiration and delight." "Not that we wholly agree with him—not that there are not many points of disagreement—but nowhere has he urged his opinions offensively; and when he reaches the true grounds of the present controversy, he marks his way so clearly, and treads so loyally on the plain track of the Constitution and pledges of the Government, that the difficulty is not to agree, but to disagree with him.
With such a spirit as Mr. Webster has shown, it

The press of the South, without distinction

ondent of the Philadelphia North American tain him. Other Whig papers in Massachusetts unanimously: tain him. Other Whig papers in Massachusetts show a disposition to approve. They seem to be under the impression that Webster is entitled to do their thinking for them. It is enough that Daniel Webster has spoken—he must be right!

The religious press, which exerts powerful increase. "Resolved, That the Territories acquired by exercisions of the United States.

Resolved, That the Territories acquired by exercisions are to exercise the united States. week in the Senate, on the great question. Mr.

Turney we did not hear. He is not a man of fluence in New England, holds a different tone. Its voice is that of strong disapprobation. Not one of the religious papers, to our knowledge, has commended his speech. If the Moneyed In-Mr. Douglas occupied portions of two days, in a speech characterized by much ability, presenting many just views, and advocating with great many just views and with a with the construction with the construction with the construction with th looks at Moral Questions, it tries Political Quesshould bear sway in Massachusetts, the political fate of Mr. Webster is sealed. The problem has dict the result with great confidence—a confidence y no means ill-grounded.

"We have never," says the Richmond (Va.) caminer, "entertained a serious fear for the Union, because we have always felt certain the Northern people would not stand the ground they have taken, and because we knew that the South would."

This is the estimate generally placed by the conduct of Northern representatives amply jus-

While Mr. Webster receives the high comnendation of the National Intelligencer, the Washington Republic, the Washington Union, the united Southern press, and a large portion of the city press of his own State, the Washington Union and the People. How are the people to govern, if the Republic, (General Taylor's own organ,) are rivalling each other in their abuse of Mr. Seward and his speech. The Republic, in an editorial two or three columns long, denounces him in un-Seward should recognise the law of the Creator of all things, as a higher law than the Constitu judgment of General Taylor's organ, for an American statesman to admit the supremacy of the Divine law! The Senate ought to take the subject into consideration. Perhaps it might rebuke this profanity by requiring its chaplain, in reciting the Lord's prayer, to amend it with a

proviso, as follows: "Let thy will be done-PROVIDED it do not conlict with the Constitution of the United States." We think this would embrace the idea of the Republic, and be a very pertinent rebuke to the

blasphemy of Mr. Seward. It also objects to the following declaration "It seems to me [Mr. Seward] slavery had laid

its paralyzing hand upon myself, and the blood were coursing less freely than its wont in my eins, when I endeavor to suppose such a compre mise has been effected," &c. The Republic is absolutely horror-stricken at this declaration, which it seems to regard as profane, in view of the fact that the Saviour of men-

kind manifested no delicate sensibilities of this "When," says the Republic, "he grows chilly in contemplating slavery in this country, he certainly displays a much greater degree of sensibility upon the subject than the Saviour of man-kind did, who spent his days upon earth when the world was full of slavery; than the Creator of the world, whose steward the Senator is, evinced, when he sent his angels to talk with men, appeared to the inspired writers in their rhapso-dies, and talked face to face with Moses. We are not a sectional propagandist, as all who read freezes in his veins in contemplating an institu-tion which neither the Creator nor his only begotten Son took exception against, should have better vouchers for his authorized stewardship of

either than a speech in which he asserts that Cali-

fornia, with her gold and Caucasian races, would, under certain circumstances, set his blood in cir-

ulation with the certainty of a general thaw."

Grand Lama, whose high priest it is, believes orthodox theology; but it will find it rather difficult to propagate this pure faith among the numerous subscribers whom it has picked up at the gan of the Whig party, and not a sectional advo-cate. In its unqualified praise of Mr. Webster, in its unqualified condemnation of Mr. Seward, we are to find the position of the Administration. Mr. Webster represents the conservative portion of the Whig party-that which rejects the price of stocks. Mr. Seward is of the liberal section of the party-that which allies itself with progress, and regards Questions of Republic seems to think so; -- perhaps they may nue, from the Capitol to that house where resides conclude that they can dispense with the Republic. the President of a free Republic. The two old parties now are in the same predica-Democrats like it?

belligerent propensities. They are marrying and giving in marriage, as if the end of the Union brutal cruelty in the capital of "the only free were not at hand. Mississippi, we believe, wears nation." the most martial aspect, though, as yet, she is not bristling with bayonets. Her delegates have man, in the ripeness of his glory, in the venerabeen appointed to the Nashville Convention, and bleness of his age, and stood in the perilous moneys have been voted them for their journey. breach, and did not tremble. He had done the The Legislature has further resolved to place state some service—might he be heard in the Na-\$200,000 at the disposition of the Governor, to tional Councils once more? And he was heard, be used, we suppose, when the crack of doom with henign teleration, even as though he were

shall be heard. The Governor of Florida, deaf to the patriotic ntreaties of Messrs Cabell, Morton, and Yulee, refuses to appoint delegates to the great Convention, and thinks badly of it. The Legislature of

compromise the interests of Freedom-it could There are Senators who believe this: why do will supply its lack of patriotism. In Virginia, . Oh, where could genius find a nobler picture they not charge it upon him? The protestations matters do not work smoothly. Loudoun county a grander idea of moral heroism, than that paof such a man of attachment to the Union, we refuses to send delegates. Seneral Beale's distriction of statesman, as, bravely risking popular-regard as idle. Other districts will probably send. Louisiana, and spoke without reason, when he assured the country that he had found no member of the decided to have nothing to do with the movement-Senate in favor of a dissolution of the Union. An immense Benton meeting in St. Louis accepts Mr. Calhoun's speech as proof conclusive that Mr. Benton was right in charging him with con- anxiety to put the enormities of slavery out of spiring against the Union; and it is said Missouri sight, a consciousness that its "deeds are evil," will not be represented in the Nashville Conven- and a dread of looking its horrors in the face tion. Meantime the National Intelligencer devotes, Mr. Calhoun would have made no such conces-

> ing, rashly enough, we opine, upon the fidelity of its representatives in Washington. It may wake up, one of these days, to find itself betrayed. We fear it will. We do not like the tone of many of its prominent party presses. It is tame and timeaction of Hunkerism in the Democratic party. It is not universal. In Rhode Island, we observe, the Democrats and Free Soil men have united no longer seems impossible to bring this sectional contest to a close; and we feel now, for the first time since Congress met, a hope that it may be so Hon. B B. Thurston, a worthy and faithful member of the last Congress. In Philadelphia, determined not to be misrepresented by Messrs. Buchanan, Brown, and Co., the Democrats held a At the North, opinion is divided. The corresnoble meeting in the Chinese Museum, a week ago, which, judging from the labored effort of the praises, while the editors faintly suggest dissent. Pennsylvanian, three columns long, to counteract The New York Tribune condemns the speech, in the effects of the meeting, we judge must have plain language. The Albany Evening Journal been a most imposing display. Judge Pettit preraises the orator, but cannot concur in his pecu- sided, and the assemblage was addressed by seveliar sentiments. The Boston Atlas strongly dis- ral speakers, among them J. M. Read, and Mr. sents, as does the Boston Journal; but the Courier, which has always been lavish in its abuse of made, it is said, a very vigorous speech on the made, it is said, a very vigorous speech on the seems the city of the whole Union best fitted for the South, and the Daily Advertiser, fully sus- occasion. The following resolutions were adopted

"Resolved, That Congress, possessing the power over the Territories, and also the power to admit new States into the Union, it is their bounden

federacy.
"Resolved, That patriotism, sound policy, and a just economy of the public treasure, and the universal desire to bind our citizens on the Pacific to our glorious Union with bands of iron, demand the immediate and unconditional admission of the Star in the West into the sisterhood of States; and that our Senators and Members of Congress from this State are earnestly requested too slightly esteemed; "sure it's no harm for a to use every honorable means to effect this most man to labor in his vocation." She will see that desirable object. "Resolved, That, in the opinion of this meet-

ing, it is the duty of our State Legislature to pass resolutions in favor of the immediate and unconlitional admission of California into the Union. "Resilved. That Pennsylvania frowns indignantly apon all attempts to weaken or dissolve the Union, and that she regards all conventions, whether in the North or in the South, whose ob-South on Northern firmness. And does not the jects are open or secret separation or dissolution, nable, and all the actors in them to be

moral unitors.

"Resdved, That we recognise, to the fullest extent, the binding obligation of that provision of the Constitution of the United States, that declares 'that no person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another,' shall be discharged from such service, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due. "Resolved, That our watchword and rallying is, 'The Union, it must and shall be pre-

The New York Evening Post remarks:

"They are bold, certainly, and far more direct and unequivocal in their assertion of the right of Congress to legislate for the Territories, and its Congress to legislate for the Territories, and its duty so to legislate as to exclude from them the rections? Were they brought about by Reform calamity of slafery, than we had expected at a meeting at which we knew that numbers of those who supported Mr. Cass at the last election were expected to take part. These men, although they gave their voics to the candidate whose nomina-tion had, in their opinion, the usual regular forms, are yet determined to say an honest word on the great controversy which now agitates the people of the United States."

Meantime we say to the friends of Freedom everywhere, stand to your arms. The moment for the final struggle approaches. You may be neditated against the cause of Freedom-but, it is not beyond your power to punish the traitors. You shall hear of them, and then-the places that now know them will know them no more forever.

LETTER FROM GRACE GREENWOOD.

NEW BRIGHTON, PA., Feb. 15, 1850. To the Editor of the National Era:

DEAR SIR: All the world is talking of Mr. Clay's late speech in support of his conciliatory resolutions, and so, I trust, I shall not wholly compromise my womanly position by slightly remarking upon it. I would limit myself to that portion relating to the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. I rejoiced over this with much of hope. The advocates and champions of "the peculiar institution" are becoming ashamed of its disgraceful contingencies and conthis paper will bear us witness; yet we must be permitted to say that a Senator whose blood and inhumanity. Mr. Clay would not have "the sequences, if not convinced of its inherent wrong abominable traffic" broken up, by no means, though he quotes, and by quoting in some sort endorses, Mr. Randolph's somewhat severe expression. No, he would only have it banished the narrow limits of the District, but not afar off; for he kindly points out to his friends of the slavetrading fraternity the neighboring cities of Al-We doubt not that the Republic, as in duty exandria, Petersburg, Richmond, Annapolis, and bound, in view of the peculiar relations of the Norfolk, as suitable places wherein to "establish their jails and their prisons." The cities menthat Slavery is an institution justified by the most tioned will no doubt feel due gratitude for this mark of the honorable Senator's distinguished

consideration. Speaking of "regular traders in slaves," Mr. North, on the strength of its being a central or- Clay announces with much tenderness the melancholy fact that "they are not looked upon with particular favor at the South"-that they are, on the contrary, sometimes unjustly excluded from social intercourse, on account of the odium attached to their business."

Alas for prejudices !-there is one equally unall ideas of progress and reform, if they affect just excluding convicts, headsmen, and hangmen,

from polite circles. Mr. Clay would have the slave trade done away with in the District, not because it insults Personal Rights above Questions of Expediency the manhood and outrages the principles of all or Property. The Administration, in casting true republicans—not because it mocks at and deitself into the arms of the former, follows its in- fies the God of Freedom and the Father of all stincts, and carries the South with it; but is it mankind-but because "the feelings of gentlestrong enough to dispense with the aid of the liberal section—of the Progressive Whigs? The chains, and in long trains driven down the Ave-

By "gentlemen," the illustrious speaker could ment. They are represented at the seat of Gov- not have meant Southerners, who, to the manner ernment by organs claiming to be National, which | born, are not often troubled with a refined phisympathize exclusively with the conservative por- lanthropy, or a morbid moral sensibility, but tions of them, while they reject and revile the strangers, travellers-exiles and refugees from liberal sections. How do liberal Whigs and Old World tyrannies—whose eyes he has seen flash with indignation, whose cheeks blanch with The People throughout the country betray no horror, whose lips curl with inexpressible scorn,

> For this came forth the world-renowned states making his last speech and dying confession, while he lifted up his voice, (but not too high,) and boldly called upon the nation to put away her

uttered those memorable words, and from his perilous stand looked round, all undismayed, on friend and foe, and smiled his old, conciliatory, concessionary, compromising smile.

To speak seriously, Mr. Clay betrays, by his Charleston Mercury, the organ par eminence of the Slave Power, compliments the speech as, "noble in language, generous and conciliatory in tone, and in the matter having one, broad and powerful tendency towards the peaceable and honorble adtendency towards the peaceable and honorble adtendence to the peaceable and honorble adtendence to the peaceable and honorble adtendence to the peacea highest honors in the gift of the Republic. But he has at least audacity and consistency in wrong-

yes, oppose the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. If we are to support this institution, with all its aids and belongings, let it be openly, before Heaven, and in the face of the whole world. Let national legislation on this subject have, at least, a defiant dignity in its injustice, and not be ever "pointing to the sneaking quarter of the moral compass." I would have Washington the most important slave market in this Republic; I would have the chained slaves and the representatives of a free people pass down the Avenue together; I would have the slave prisons and the slave auctions among the regular lions of the capital city; I would have the Hun-gerian exiles politely shown through them; the Austrian ambassador should be allowed to go their rounds before receiving his unsolicited leave of absence from a Government too liberty-loving and magnanimous to have diplomatic relations

an extensive slave market. Is it not conveniently central? Is it not here that large slave owners, men in the cotton trade and tobacco line, "most do congregate?" Is it not the place that stran-gers first seek, to obtatn a clear and comprehenmen in the cotton trade and tab sive idea of the spirit and action of our free in-

titutions?

Then here should be the last baunt of the dealer in "the bodies and souls of men;" here should the last slave be knocked down to the last bidder for that particular sort of flesh-and-blood

property.

But probably there will be little need of the North protesting against such measures. The South will doubtless be as much alarmed at the proposition to banish the slave trade from Washngton to Alexandria, Petersburg, Richmond, Annapolis, and Norfolk, as was the worthy mother of Cuddie Heddrigge, at the threat of her son to "flee awa' into some far country, perhaps twal or fifteen miles off." She will see that it is kept safe and cosy enough under the protection of the national flag-under the wing of the national eagle. She will see that its respectable traders are not it has jails and prisons sufficient for its need she will see that its chain-gangs have the right of

way down Pennsylvania Avenue.
It seems that Mr. Clay's speech could hardly have been correctly reported, for in one place he admits that Northern opposition to slavery is "dictated by the purest philanthropy and humanity" wat in another greaks lightly of it as ity," yet in another speaks lightly of it, as a mere sentiment " for a mere "abstraction."

Surely the great speaker would not so contra-The peroration of this speech is a little on the

tragic order. The orator draws a terrific picture of the horrors of an insurrection—"dwelling-houses in flames, rafters crackling, breaking, falling—women and children rushing wildly through the flames, shricking for help from Heaven!" &c. Then he solemnly asks: "Is this in the North? No; but in the slave

States, and produced not intentionally, but by the measures introduced by you, and carried fur-ther than you had any intention they should pro-ceed. On the one side there was sentiment, and sentiment alone. On the other, property, life, and the whole social fabric, likely to be involved in

legislate as to exclude from them the of slafery, than we had expected at a twhich we knew that numbers of those orted Mr. Cass at the last election were to take part. These men, although they r votes to the candidate whose nominatempt, and insult, and cruelty, rousing at last the ust, though terrible vengeance of an outraged humanity?

humanity?
The piece of high tragedy referred to was evidently the peroration proper; but it was followed by something in the melo-dramatic line—the relation of a "thrilling incident," the presentation for the final struggle approaches. You may be deceived—it may now be beyond your power to prevent the consummation of the Treason long it portentous that it should be presented to him Was it a sad presage of what might happen to that fabric which Washington's virtue, patriotism, and valor, established ?" I own I cannot see the peculiar beauty and fitness of this figure, which drew dears from "veteran politician or, at least, drew their handkerchiefs to their eyes. If the Union is the coffin, enclosing a dead patriotism, the ashes of true national virtue, and this is to be at last—though Heaven avert the day as long as may be-broken into fragments. still may there be enshrined in more safe and sacred keeping, that ideal of patriotism, liberty, and republicanism, which is the Washington of

a free people. EUROPEAN CORRESPONDENCE.

Berlin, February 5, 1850.

To the Editor of the National Era : Two weeks ago, Prussia was the object of attention to all Europe. The unexpected demands of the King were so hostile to all the interests of the richer bourgeoisie, the only class represented by the Chambers, that m stout resistance was anticipated. This proved to be true to a certain extent. Many of the nembers protested eloquently against the faithlessness of the King, and his duplicity in regard to the Chambers. He had dissolved the National Assembly of last year, annulled by ordinance the electoral law, granted another which placed the power in the hands of the bourgeoisie, and professed his willingness to abide by the desision of the Chambers elected under it. Fourfifths of the people had refused to vote, but the richer bourgeoisie, trusting to the honor of the King, had accepted the law, and sent their representatives to Berlin. These the King had alowed to frame a Constitution, after working at it nearly six months. When all was finished, and he was required to take the oath, he orders the Chambers to undo their whole web, and transfer the political power to a nobility, which in great part must be created for the purpose. There are n fact only twenty-six nobles of the first class in all Prussia. Of these, ten are princes of the royal house, and sixteen are descendants of immediate feoffees of the Empire. The other lords of the projected House of Peers are to be created by the King. As the absolute veto rests in the hands of the King, all future legislation must be agreeable to him and his creatures. But the Chambers, threatened with annihilation, and a return to absolutism without a Constitution, seeing nothing but revolution and violence as the consequences of a refusal, and having long since lost, by constantly recurring compromises, in which the popular cause was always sacrificed, all reputation for independence, were obliged humbly to submit to the dictation of heir lord and master.

They are already despised by the nobility party, and their friends represent them in a faint oice, as having sacrificed their personal honor and independence on the altar of the country. This is the insanity of patriotism! What is a country worth, when her honor is betrayed by her own sons? The fair fame of Prussia has been soiled by the cowardice of the representatives of her higher classes.

And yet this transaction is called a compromise, a name thrown as a cloak around every sacriff e of

permanent national interests to an arrogant and selfish clique. In this compromise, the Chambers have struck down the last gueranty of a free press, have placed the landst arm at the order of the King; have abolished the national guard, shame and her crime, or rather suggested the and disarmed the citizens; have given the Gov-"expediency" of removing the unfortunate cause ernment the right to dissolve or adjourn, at any to be decided by the People of New Mexico, in indispensable condition to continued union, he organizing a State Constitution. This might must have been providing a reason for disunion.

The regular of this unjust reproach as far off as Alexandria, moment, the Chambers, and not convene them again for three months; have sanctioned the dispensable condition.

vision of the State into such electoral districts as to favor particular monopolists and interests fayorable to the Government; have freed the civil and police officers from the jurisdiction and control of the courts, except where the Government has previously consented—thus placing the liberty of every citizen at the discretion of any contable; have withdrawn from the judges the right to examine the constitutionality of any law or royal ordinance; have agreed to give the force of law to royal ordinances until they are repealed by the Chambers-a provision which places the legislative power in the King's hands, for the Chamber of Peers will always support him have agreed to the erection of a Star Chamber Court for political offenders, only providing that a jury, to be made up as hereafter agreed to by the King, shall sit in such cases; have given the King the right to collect taxes without the previous consent of the Chambers; and, finally, have agreed to erect a Peerage, or rather allowed the King to do so, which has no root in the social condition of Prussia, and will act always with the

King against the bourgeoisie. These are the concessions of the Chambers. What has the King conceded to them? A compromise implies concessions on both sides.

He binds himself to take the oath to this Con stitution. This is the first concession. One would think it a very trifling one, as the Constitution favors nobody but him and his friends, if we had not the royal word for it, that it is a great sacrifice of personal feeling for him to consent "to limit, by a scribbled piece of paper, his means to serve his country." He is to take the oath tomorrow at his palace, before the assembled Chambers, and at the same hour anthems of praise to God are to be sung in all the churches.

His second concession is, that the nobles shall

no longer be exempt from taxes on their real estate, leaving the whole burden of the Government on the bourgeoisie. A bill for this purpose was presented, by the ministry, before the vote, to the Chambers. Since the vote, it has leaked out that the King expects, quite as a matter of course, a second bill to be voted with the one proposed-This second provides for the compensation of the nobles at the rate of one hundred dollars in cash for every five dollars annual tax, to be hereafter paid by them. That is, the nobles consent to sell at par a stock which yields them five per cent. per annum. A small portion is to be redeemed for less. The difference, then, between the King's concessions and none at all is a tweedledum and tweedledee affair, not worth the mentioning.

A third concession is, that the new House of

In short, the bourgeoisie has made a worse bargain than the famous one of Esau's. It has not ecured even a mess of pottage in return for its

I have spoken above of the refractory members. The article on the peerage was carried by a vote of 161 to 149. Thirty-six members were either absent or refused to vote. Of these, fourteen were the Polish members, who would not vote for the King, but agreed to abstain for a certain consideration. This is said to be a promise by the King, that the Polish Duchy of Posen shall not be divided into three parts, as heretofore threat-ened. During the discussion, the ministers made a liberal use of threats as well as of persuasions. The Chambers were given to understand that if they did not vote according to the wish of his most gracious and most capricious Majesty, that the Chambers, Constitution, and Bourgeoisie,

the Chambers, Constitution, and Bourgeoisie, would be sacrificed to the royal rage.

This maimed and disfigured Constitution is to be changed once more. The King and his Cabinet are authorized to make it conform in all respects to the Federal State Constitution agreed on by the Parliament at Erfurt. This is to meet

rejected entirely one of the articles proposed by the King, that provided for the continuance of ones. Without these, a nobility cannot long exist. But the King has, in a subsequent message, wery coolly informed the Chambers, that their refusal can amount to nothing, for he will consider this article as a necessary corollary of the one on the peerage, and that he will reserve the right of providing for as many entailed estates as may result of the substance of the control of the substance of the control be necessary to sustain the peerage. He will no doubt do what he says.

WAR SYMPTOMS. The people of the United States must be now pretty well steeled against the alarms so often raised on the subject of a general European war. You well know that this correspondence has not sought to season itself with such highly flavored diments. But why reject a spicy dish, when it is ust into one's face? The war alarm is now thrust into one's face? The war alarm is now higher than ever in Europe. War is to come this time, not from below, as in 1848, but from above, from the luxurious cabinets of diplomatists and the round council tables of Kings. In my capacity of faithful chronicler of the times, I will give ou the views of the believers in the near approach war, guarantying only the facts stated, and not the inferences from them. As yet, I incline to the opinion that the confligration will not be general, but confined to Switzerland and Holstein Schleswig. These local difficulties, however, may be the sparks which will kindle all Europe into

The war party holds the following language: The War party house the following language:

"The French Republic cannot coexist with the
absolute Powers of Europe, for it acts as a permanent instigator of disloyalty, rebellion, and social
convulsions. Universal suffrage in France lays a powder magazine under every throne. The northern Powers know this, and have long been resolved to put it down. Heretofore they have not been able to act, being fully occupied with the German democracy, the Hungarians, and the Italians. Now, they have restored quiet at home, and are ready for the struggle. Russia bas borrowed five million pounds sterling of the English bankers, and filled the Danubian principalities with troops, and stores of provisions, and arms. Austria has organized her provinces, recruited her army, and improved its discipline, and accumulated her best regiments on the Swiss frontier. Prussia has regulated her internal affairs, acquired the control of Baden, Dessau, the two Mecklenburgs, and Hamburgh, and stationed a force of thirty thousand in Baden, within a day's march of Switzerland.

All parties are thus ready to act. But the final object, to wit, the attack on France, is not to be avowed. The protection afforded by Switzer-land to the proscribed republicans and socialists, those enemies of family, property, and religion; the plots of the refugees; the incendiary pamphlets published by them in Geneva and other Swiss towns and sown broadcast over Europe. lets published by them in Geneva and other Swiss towns, and sown broadcast over Europe—these are to be the pretexts for the attack. Louis Napoleon is to avail himself of the same pretexts to permit it. How can he refuse, when the allies propose to do in Switzerland only what he has done in Italy? They fight for the sacred cause of law and order. Austria and Prussia have already made a formal demand on France to consent to the attack! Russia keeps carefully in the background. The French Cabinet met in council, on the 31st January, to discuss this demand. cil, on the 31st January, to discuss this demand. Some say Napoleon is in favor of it, having privately received the assurance that his ambitious designs will be favored. The Legitimists and Orleansists are in favor of it, having also received designs will be favored. The Legitimists and Orleansists are in favor of it, having also received flattering assurances. The people are to be kept quiet with the declaration that nothing is intended against the liberty or independence of Switzerland. But that mountainous Republic once conquered, the Sonderbund of 1815 will be revived, Prussia will seize on Neufehatel, to which she has old claims, Russia will wheel into line, and the three allies, supported by Baden, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Saxony, will be ready to coöperate either with Bonaparte or the Bourbonists or Orleanists, as circumstances may require, for the overthrow of the French Republic and the reëstablishment of absolutism. The result of their meuacing position will probably be, that Louis Napoleon will receive more power for the purpose of defending the country. This power he will organize so as to make permanent, and then the allies, having accomplished their object, will submit to treat on honorable terms."

Recent facts give a certain plausibility to this statement of the case. Louis Bonaparte has certainly ambitious views which it is impossible to the country. He might then claim that the mag-

tainly ambitious views which it is impossible to realize unless some great public danger menace the country. He might then claim that the magnitude of the danger demanded his temporary dictatorship. This would afford him the pretext for seizing on the Imperial title, or if not, on the dignity of President for life with very extensive powers.

powers.

If this be really the game to be played, the cards must be managed skilfully. If the French people suspect it for an instant, Louis Napoleon will change places with Ledru Rollin, and General Changarnier with General Cavaignac. The next steamer will probably take you the answer of the French Cabinet.

It is certain that the Prussian and Austrian Governments have employed the last few months.

To correspondence of a tissual "The Committee on Senator Foote's Compromise," in large capitals.—no; I should say in small capitals. [Laughter] "The following are the names of the committee of thirteen on Mr. Foote's proposition: Mr. Clay, chairman; Messra Webster, Phelps, Gooper, Cass, Diskinson, Dodge, jun., Mason, Soule, Butler, Mangum, Bell, and Berrien."

in buying army stores of all sorts, arms for the men, cannon, clothing, provisions, &c., and the last two years in improving the fortifications in the Rhine provinces. Those on the frontier towards Russia have been comparatively neglected. The amount expended on the former, in 1848, was \$1.237,200, while that on the latter was only \$557.000. Register that the Payesian Government. \$587,000. Besides this, the Prussian Government has demanded and obtained permission from the Chambers to borrow \$21,000,000 for the eastern railroad. This sum is at its disposal, how-

ever, for any purpose.

The financial condition of Austria, Prussia and Russia, is bad enough; but in war they would quarter their troops on the people, or endeavor to subsist on the enemy's territory.

You need not be surprised, then, if the next winds that blow from Europe should waft you the news of an attack on Switzerland, and of a war in

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

A rupture in those duchies may happen at any moment. Mr. Von Bulow, the Secretary Danish Legation, remarked, three days sin Danish Legation, remarked, three days since, to a gentleman who gave me the information, that he expected by every mail the news of the renewal of hostilities. The King of Denmark, in his speech on the 30th of January, at the opening of the Chambers, expressed the hope that the affair might be brought to a peaceful termination, but hinted very broadly that it could not. This seems to be the tenor of all news from that oparter. The duchies in the event of the war. quarter. The duchies in the event of the war, will not be aided by Prussia, as before, and will almost certainly be forced to yield in a short campaign. Their situation is a most melancholy one. They are oppressed by the umpires, their currency is destroyed, their civil administration disorganized, their troops half disbanded, they are abandoned by Prussia, told by the Frankfort Commission to submit with a good grace, and know that submission will not save them from decimation, by the prison, by banishment, and by the cord, or by powder and lead, or their country from the position of a conquered province. This controversy must soon be settled in some way, and probably by arms.

PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA. While Prussia is apparently bent on the forma-tion of a Northern Confederation, and really extion of a Northern Confederation, and really ex-tending her power, by concluding military trea-tics with the small States in her neighborhood, Austria is none the leasybusy in organizing her own provinces, and in profiting by every mistake of her rival The late message of the Prussian King has been adroitly used by Austria to detach the Constitutionalists from his party. One Gov nment is now as absolute as the other; but Austria has the advantage of not having lately taken openly any aggressive step against the cause of unity. Although at heart she is hostile to any unity in which she has not the control, and knows that Prussia would never consent to that, she is clamorous for the union of all the German people. She seeks popularity, too, by her project of calling a Convention of merchants and business men, to consult on the best means of uniting all the German States in one commercial system. This project she has laid before the Frankfort Commission with the system. would be of importance, if the King would, in the mean time, consent to the reforms proposed by the Chambers as at present constituted. But of this there is no have mans. She has never put forth such exertions in this way. The Minister of the Interior has caused a work to be published on the "History of the Attempts at German Colonization in Hun-gary and Transylvania in the 18th and 19th cenuries." This work explains away all the failures, and attempts to prove that the present effort is

made with every prospect of success. Premiums, in money, utensils, and land, are offered to actual Another instrument used by Austria in her rivality with Prussia, is the influence of the four Kings of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Hanoyer, and Saxony. These have more or less influence with the other Governments, and use it to detach them from the cause of Prussia.

This last Power presecutes unremittingly its efforts at aggrandizement. Its friends circulate the report among the people, that an alliance is now in progress of formation between the three liberal Powers of France, England, and Prussia, while they give solid securities to the princes, of the King's attachment to absolutism and the privileges of the monarchs and aristocracy. DUSSIA'S POLICY.

The real designs of Russia are not on Germany, on the 20th of next month.

It ought to be mentioned, that the Chambers berment of the Turkish Empire, and gaining the

mouths of the Danube. Austria has ever been the fast foe of these am-Russia seems to be favoring the views of Frussia, with the design of keeping alive the jealousy between the houses of Hapsbourg and Hohenzollern, so as to fully occupy the former in Germany. She is certainly fomenting the difficulty with Switzerland. If this should come to blows, Russian troops will be necessary in Hungary, and the Czar can seize at once on Moldavia and Wallachia. He has already actual possession with forty thousand

UNITED STATES AND AUSTRIA. Mr. Cass's resolution and speech have occasion mar. Cass's resolution and speech have occasion-ed a great sensation throughout Europe. Diplo-matists are aghast at its boldness, and look on the Senator as a little touched by his failure in the last Presidential campaign. Some of the papers ask, What is the American Government, that she can give herself such airs of moral superiority? Has she not three million slaves in her midst, suffering more daily than the Hungarians have

Indeed, it is a naivé impudence without parallel Indeed, it is a naive impudence without parallel. Mr. Cass, the apologist of slavery, the palliator of its horrors, the unwearied fee of liberty in his own land, would rebuke tyranny in another! The man who never found a word of reproof for the men who hung, without judge or jury, or shot down like dogs all the insurgents in the Virginia insurrection of 1831, not to mention others before and since, and will not dare now to disapprove these measures. This way is full of horrors at the these massacres—this man is full of horrors at the excesses of the Austrians. Come, Mr. Cass, be honest for once. Have the courage of your opinion. You are in heart a majority man. Degrees of longitude cannot change morality. A fast ally of slavery in your own country, you would, if your lot had been cast in Austria, have had your eyes open to the necessity of crushing the noble Magyars. These heroes may well quote to you, Non tali auxilio, etc., and decline your theatrical

sympathy. LOCAL ITEM. The trial of forty-two members of last year's Prussian Assembly, for high treason, commenced yesterday. The act charged against them is, exciting the people to refuse the taxes. They are not to be punished for voting this refusal in the Assembly, but for sustaining the vote by words after they were out of the Hall. A subtle dis-

tinction, truly ! The trial excites great interest CONGRESS.

THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS-FIRST SESSION.

We alluded briefly, last week, to the motion of Mr. Foote, made on Tuesday, to take up his mo tion for a Select Committee of thirteen. A further notice of the proceeding may be satisfactory.

Tuesday, March 12, 1850. Mr. Foote moved that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Mr. Bell's resolutions, with a view of taking up his motion to refer them to a committee of thirteen. The motion met with Mr. Hale said. The honorable Senator from

Mississippi, [Mr. Foote,] the other day, when he introduced these resolutions, stated that it was done after consultation with, and with the concurrence of "nearly every leading member" of the Senate. Well, now, sir, I do not know how many leaders we have got. I do not know— Mr Foote. I did not intend to include the honorable Senator from New Hampshire. [Laugh-

Mr. Hale. I know that. Perhaps the Senator that, Pernaps the Senator from Mississippi knows enough of me to know that, whilst I do not pretend to be a leader, I would not exactly be among the led. But I was going to say that it seems there are some leaders that have not been consulted. Now, I want to

Mr. Foote. Who are they?

Mr. Hale. I don't know who they are. You said nearly all; evidently, therefore, implying that some of the leaders had not been consulted. [Laughter.] But what I rise for now is merely as to a question of fact. I want to inquire if those leading members that have been consulted, and have concurred in this measure, have also been consulted and have concurred in the appointment of this committee; because a friend has put into my hand a little paragraph, taken from the Washington correspondence of a distant newspaper, which reads as follows: It is headed "The Committee on Senator Foote's Compromise," in large capitals—no; I should say in small capitals. [Laughter.]

Mr. Foote. I will answer the question, and save

Mr. Hale. The question cannot be answered till it is all put; when I get through the ques-tion, I will give way. I was going to suggest that those leaders who had been consulted, had re-solved themselves into a committee of the whole;

solved themselves into a committee of the whole; for, with the exception of the honorable Senator from Mississippi, whom we have always looked to as a leader, and whom the country has always looked to as a leader, with this exception, almost everybody here that would be called a leading Senator. leading Whig or leading Democrat—

Mr. Foote. My name is not there.

Mr. Hale. No; I know it. I say that, with the exception of the Senator from Mississippi, nearly all the leading Senators are on this committee. And now, sir, my question is, whether "the leading Senators" have resolved themselves into a committee of the whole? Because, if they have, there is no necessity for the rest of us doing anything. Let them sit—

Mr. Foote. Will the honorable Senator allow me to say a word, to save debate?

Mr. Foote. I stated to him distinctly that there had been no general consultation of the kind. The names of the gentlemen just read certainly have been suggested in various quarters. There has been no general agreement that these shall be the names. These names have been suggested certainly, and would be acceptable to me; but there are other names which may be suggested. There has been no such compact at all. The honorable gentleman knows himself that there has been properly that the statement is now the suggested. has been no such compact at all. The honorable gentleman knows himself that there has been no

ing anybody, because I saw a smile on the counte-nances of all the leading gentlemen. I suppose they were gratified, rather than harassed. Cer-

morable Senator from Mississippi was not among

These names have been suggested, among thers; but there is no agreemen

ed enough.

Mr. Foote, The honorable Senator will bear consulted about the names of the committee. I certainly did consult with gentlemen of high standing as to the propriety of proposing such a committee; but as to the names, the honorable Senator must have surely seen that I did not intimate that leading gentlemen have been consult-ed at all. The honorable Senator is running away with an idea which is totally unfounded, and is attempting to amuse himself, the Senate,

p these resolutions.

Mr. Hale and Mr. Chase called for the yeas and nays, and they were ordered, and being taken, resulted as follows:

rien, Bradbury, Cass, Clay, Clemens, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson. Dickinson, Dodge of Iowa, geon-24.

ler, Calhoun, Underwood, and Yulee.]

not say that finally he might not vote for it.

The subject was postponed, and the Senate ad-

ourned. WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13, 1850.

Son, Foote, Hunter, King, Mason, Fratt, Rusk, Sturgeon, and Yulee—15.

Nays—Messrs. Badger, Baldwin, Chase, Clay, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Dayton, Dodge of Iowa, Dodge of Wisconsin, Douglas, Felch, Hale, Hamlin, Jones. Miller, Phelps, Seward, Smith, Underwood, Upham, Wales, and Webstern 28.

ster—22.
So the motion was not agreed to, and the petition was then received and referred to the Committee on the Territories.

voted for the reception.]

what the organic laws do not allow. For myself, I have done.

After some further conversation, on motion of Mr. Dickinson, the petition was laid on the table by a vote of 24 against 7.

The Senate proceeded to the consideration of the special order, the motion of Mr. Foote.

Mr. Baldwin. I desire to offer an amendment, as follows:

The sixth resolution is in these words: The sixth resolution is in these words:

"Resolved, That the Constitution recently formed by the people of the western portion of California, and presented to Congress by the President on the 13th day of February, 1850, be accepted, and that they be admitted into the Union as a State, upon an equal footing in all respects with the original States."

Mr. Benton. Will the Senator from Connecticut yield the deep for one moment?

me to say a word, to save debate?

Mr. Hale. Yes, sir, certainly.
Mr. Foote. I stated to him distinctly that committee raised; they are to be voted upon yet by ballot. I ask him, then, if he deems it delicate, liberal, and courteous, to introduce a paragraph of this sort to embarrass and harass his brother

enators with suggestions so unseemly?
Mr. Hale. I was not aware that I was harass

tainly it was not my intention to harass them.
Mr. Foote. It somewhat harassed myself.
Mr. Hale. That must have been because the

the leading thirteen.

Mr. Foote, (in his seat.) I am weary of this Mr. Hale. I was going on to say that the honof thirteen, stood up as drill sergeant, and an-nounced to this body what the leaders had deterined upon at their little informal meeting. Sir business of the coun'ry, and that we only come in here to put it in form, and place it on the jour-nal. Sir, I am answered; and, I think, the country is answered. The honorable Senator say there has been no regular formal meeting. Mr. Foote. There has been no formal meeting

hould be the names.

Mr. Hale. That is the fault I find with it, that t has been limited to the leaders, and not extend

othing like an extended conference, so far as

and the country, in a manner which is extremely

and the country, in a manner which is extremely unprofitable to us all.

Mr. Hale. I have got all the information I wanted, except that I should like to know who the "leaders" are. The Vice President. The question is on taking

YEAS-Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Bell, Ber-Downs, Foote, Hunter, Jones, King, Mangum Mason, Morton, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, and Stur-

NAYS-Messrs. Baldwin, Benton, Butler, Calhoun, Chase, Clarke, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Dayton, Dodge of Wissonsin, Felch, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Phelps, Seward, Shields, Smith, Underwood, Upham, Walker, and Yulee—32. [Five Senators from the free States voted in the affirmative-Bradbury of Maine, Cass, Dickinson, and Dodge and Jones of Iowa. Five from slave States voted in the negative-Benton, But-

The resolutions of Mr. Bell were then taken ip, and Mr. Foote moved to refer them to a Se-ect Committee of thirteen, to be chosen by ballot. Mr. Clay assented to the motion, because he was in favor of trying every means of settling the dangerous question, but he was not sanguine as to the result. Mr. Butler of South Carolina was opposed to the motion at this time. He would

Mr. Seward presented numerous petitions for the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, for the establishment of jury trial, for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. The question of reception being aised by Mr. Yulee, Mr. Seward, at the request raised by Mr. Yulee, Mr. Seward, at the request of the Vice President, presented the petitions singly. He first presented the petition of citizens of Madison county, New York, praying for the protection of Freedom in the Territories, and against the admission of more slave States. It was read—its reception objected to by Mr. Davis

of Mississippi, and on the motion to lay the question of reception on the table, the vote stood—
Yeas—Messrs. Atchison, Benton, Butler,
Clemens, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Dickinson, Foote, Hunter, King, Mason, Pratt, Rusk,

[People will be surprised to see Mr. Benton voting not to receive a petition from American citizens, praying a certain course of action on questions then under consideration in the Senate.

Dickinson and Sturgeon were the only Senators from free States voting in the affirmative. Badger, Clay, and Underwood, from slave States, Three other petitions of a similar kind were then received by a vote of 18 to 13, and referred

Mr. Seward next presented a petition praying he abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, or the removal of the seat f Government.
Mr. Butler of South Carolina, somewhat ex

I take occasion to say that I have always voted in conformity with what I thought heretofore to be the usage of the Senate on this subject, be-cause this putting several subjects together into one petition, with a view to introduce one be-cause the others might be introduced, is, in my opinion, a mere evasion of the rule of the Sen-

cause the others might be introduced, is, in my opinion, a mere evasion of the rule of the Senate; but I give notice now, that, as the rule has been broken down by which we have endeavored to prevent the unnecessary agitation of these subjects, that they may bring in as many petitions as they please upon all subjects, and I will never again raise my voice against it.

Mr. King of Alabama spoke in a similar strain. After referring to the rule of the Senate on the subject, he continued—

A change, I repeat, has taken place. The Senate of the United States will no longer endeavor to put down this excitement; it is to go on. For one, I entirely agree with the honorable Senator from South Carolina, I will never henceforth oppose any petition, let it come from what party it may, or be of what character it may, even if it should be a petition for the dissolution of the Union, like the one presented the other day by the Senator from New Hampshire. If it pleases the majority of this body to receive petitions of this kind, no objection shall be made by me. I now despair of ever getting clear of this agitation upon subjects that no man, who is not a miserable fanatic, will undertake to say that they have a right to petition upon; for they ask us to do what the Constitution forbids us to do, and what the constitution forbids us to do, and

"Except the sixth resolution, which is referred to the Committee on Territories, with instructions report a bill in conformity with said structions report a bill in conformity with said structions relative to fugitive slaves to be faithfully fulfilled; to cease the agitation of the slave and Turney—14.

Mr. Benton. Will the Senator from Connecticut yield the floor for one moment?

Mr. Baldwin. I will.

Mr. Benton. My mind has been directed to the same point as that referred to by the Senator from Connecticut. I was for proposing an amendment in the same terms, but I afterwards thought, for the purpose of making all sure, and of keeping the question of the admission of California wholly unmixed with everything that is going on here in connection with the subject of slavery, it would be preferable to offer the amendment in this be preferable to offer the amendment in this But nothing in this resolution shall be con-

The Vice President. Will the Senator from Connecticut accept that amendment?

Mr. Baldwin. I accept it, sir.

Mr. Cass obtained the floor, but yielded it for few moments to Mr. Webster, who made the

ollowing explanation:

Mr. Webster, I have no desire to oppose this
resolution of the honorable member from Mississippi, if anybody thinks it necessary, or would be useful. But, from what I have seen, sir, and from what we have all seen and heard, within the last month, my own persuasion is that no benefit is likely to arise from any attempt to draw up a se-ries resolutions for the settlement of all the questions now in agitation. I see no hope that such a series of resolutions would pass the two Houses of Congress. At the close of my remarks, on on Thursday, I signified that I should take an opportunity, as early as might be convenient, con sistently with the rights of others, to say what had to say on the subject immediately embraced by the resolution of the Chairman of the Com-mittee on the Territories, [Mr. Douglas,] and the orable Senator from Mississippi tells me that this committee has not been regularly acted upon by the Senate. I know something else, too; I know how all the committees were fixed; not in this Senate Chamber, in this room, but in some of the other rooms of the Senate, and they were simply announced here, and brought into this beds. ther rooms of the Senate, and they were sim-ly announced here, and brought into this body, suppose, by some of the leading Senators There can be no doubt as to this; and one of hese leading Senators, whose name is in this list of observations addressed to the Senate, to show that if the question were now here before us, and we were ourselves to prescribe boundaries for the honorable Senator from Mississippi cannot tell me that these little informal meetings do the own Constitution. In order to make out this, propose to say something upon the nature of th country, the extent of the territory, and whatsoever clse may appropriately belong to the ques-tion of the boundaries of States in that quarter of the world. In short, I incline to think it expedient, quite expedient, to proceed in that course of legislation which the President has suggested in his message transmitting the Consti

[This supplement to Mr. Webster's speec ems an afterthought. Certainly, everybody was surprised at the silence of the Senator on the with me while I state that there were no leaders | subject, when he delivered his sentiments at large nearly a week before this.

Mr. Cass then commenced the discussion of the Mr. Cass then commenced the discussion of the general question, and in the course of his speech, which occupied portions of two days, he was frequently interrupted.

He complimented Mr. Foote for his untiring efforts to bring about a compromise. He should support his motion for a committee, but could not expect much from it. As to his own course, he did not know what it would be He deployed. did not know what it would be. He deplored i many things in the speech of Mr. Calhoun. It was sombre and hopeless. The Missouri compromise would be no fit settlement of this question. He contended for the doctrine of Non-Intervention. His own opinion was, that they should first take up the bill for the reclamation of slaves, and pass that. The Senator from New York had

natural ally of slavery.

Mr. Seward explained, that he merely intended to state a fact, not to east reproach upon any body of his fellow-citizens.

I only ask leave to say that this is my view of the political organization of the two parties of this country, and that it is the support, the toleration, honestly given—given with patriotic motives, no doubt—by the party to which I referred in my of his fellow-citizens.

remarks, to the institution of slavery in the South, that constitutes its tower of strength; and that, on the other hond, the party to which I belong is a party more identified with the progress of the sen-timent of freedom or emancipation in the North, and therefore it is weaker in its alliances in the South. Mr. Dawson. I understood the Senator from

Mr. Dawson. I understood the Senator from New York that these were the sentiments that are held by the party to which he belongs. I want to know, now, if he claims to belong to the Whig party? If he does, it will be known to every true and proper Whig that I do not belong to his party; and I hope that when he speaks for the party to which he belongs, he will not put under his banner the Whig party of the United States—the conservative party of this country—together with the Democratic party, whom I admit to be conservative also.

Mr. Dickinson of New York. I cannot tell what is to be the result of all these abolition petitions. We are uow in the middle of the fourth month of the session. Nothing else can come up but abolition, until the very air is as feetid as in an abolition meeting. I move to lay the question of reception and the question of order on the table.

Mr. Hale protested against the attempt of the mit to be conservative also.

Mr. Calhoun had heard with regret some of the

declarations of the Senator from Michigan. That Senator and himself had two distinct and different conceptions of the Constitution of the United

States.

His whole course has been a course of palliatives. And, sir, of all courses, that is far the worst. Why, sir, you might as well treat a cancer that is about striking into a vital part with justice of slave States in securing the right of

the distinguished Senator, if this Union is ever to be dissolved, will have contributed his full share to its dissolution; that the very entanglement we are now in originated in the last Presidential election; and, as I think I have demonstrated, originated in a violation of the Constitu-tion and in a violation and disregard of the sov-ereignty of the States. Whenever the Senator chooses to go into a discussion upon this point, I

am ready to meet him.

Mr. Foote obtained the floor, and reiterated Mr. Foote obtained the floor, and reiterated what he had said on a former day in objection to the views of Mr. Calhoun. That Senator had no right to make up a new issue for the South.

While up I will state one effect of the honora-

While up I will state one effect of the honorable Senator's speech, as already developed. Upon its being received at St. Louis, a large public meeting was held, at which resolutions were adopted, declaring that the charges at the Senator from Missouri against the Senator from South Carolina, in regard to disunion, were made good. Is not that weakening our cause?

A conversation followed, in which the Committee proposed by Mr. Foote was referred to. Mr. Calhoun remarked—

Now, sir, he says that he knows the opinion of all the Senators on this floor, except two or three.

all the Senators on this floor, except two or three, in regard to this committee. Well, I may say that I have spoken to at least half a dozen Senators, and every one of them has condemned it.

Mr. Foote. I know the opinion of a number of

the Senators, but there are some gentlemen here whose opinions I care nothing about, and whose whose opinions I care nothing about and whose cooperation I do not want.

Mr. Calhoun. The gentleman is far more familiar and much more intimate in social intercourse, and more in the habit of consulting with Senators, than I am.

Mr. Foote, (in his seat.) I am on good terms

with everybody.

Mr. Calhoun. Well, I am not on good terms with those who are for cutting our throats. After the avowal that was made by the Senator from New York, that there is a power higher than the Constitution—a power which overrules the Constitution—and which would justify the North in crushing it, I am not the man to hold social intercourse with him

ourse with him.—
Mr. Foote, (in his seat.) I think I shall have to

question; these I think necessary to insure tran-quillity; to provide, by amendment of the Constitution, for a restoration to the South of the power she possessed of protecting herself before the equilibrium between the sections was destroyed. Events, however unwillingly, have forced upon me the conviction that such additional pro-

The subject was postponed till to-morrow.

The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of the California Question, on which Mr. Douglas addressed the Senate for two hours, when,

and in a debate on the reception of a petition presented by Mr. Seward of New York, from citizens of West Bloomfield, in that State, praying that the right of trial by jury may be secured o persons claimed as fugitives from service or

Mr. Seward moved that they be referred to the

strued to authorize the said committee to take into consideration anything which relates to the admission of the State of California into the Mr. Seward moved that they be referred to the Committee for the District of Columbia.

Mr. Pratt of Maryland objected to the reception. Of all the subjects producing excitement at the South, and working mischief, that of escaping slaves was the most prominent one. He hoped therefore that the petition would not be received and he descended the verse and news. ceived, and he demanded the yeas and nays.

Mr. Hale had heard with astonishment the re marks of the Senator from Maryland. So far as he knew, a person claimed as a slave in a slave State had the benefit of a legal trial—in most cases, trial by jury. Why should the freeman of the North be denied the same privilege? What was the bill before the Senate, referred to by the Senator. As he understood it, any man that wanted a victim, and could purchase affidavits, "under this law, may go into one of the free States; he may go, Mr. President, into your house or into mine, he may soiz a your wife or your or into mine; he may seize your wife or your child, and upon an ex parte affidavit, taken behind our backs, hundreds and thousands of miles off, the wife of your bosom or the children of your love may be wrenched from your protection, and, upon the strength of this ex parte affidavit, hursial of ?

Mr. Butler. Blacks. Mr. Hale. Sir, it does not say blacks, but anybody; and I have seen some that are holden a slaves that it would be difficult to tell by thei complexions what their parentage was. I say that anybody, black or white, upon the strength of an ex parte affidavit, taken behind their backs, may be hurried off to a fate compared to which the refuge of the grave were a relief. And is it too much, sir, that we ask, and simply ask, that when such a claim as this is made, trial by jury habeas corpus, and every privilege dear to freemen, may be exercised in our own States? Mr. King of Alabama called the Senator to or der. There could be no discussion on the motion

to receive. After it was determined that the petition should be received, it would be time enough for the gentleman to deliver his eulogy on "the blacks and the horrors of glavery."

The Vice President was of opinion that the ussion was in order. Mr. King insisted that the Chair was wrong. The Vice President said he did not know by what rule the right to debate on the question of

reception was limited.

Mr. King referred to a decision made by Mr. Clay, when Speaker of the House, that petitions must be sent to the Chair, and first received, before debate could take place.

The Vice President remarked that when that decision was made, there was no question pending whether the petition should be received. In

this case, there was such a question, so that de-

Mr. King urged another ground—that the proposition before the Senate was to lay the question of reception upon the table.

The Vice President said that motion had been

that the petition be received.

Mr. Chase. I wish to make a single remark on the question of order, with the view of directing the Senate to a precedent in point. That precedent is the debate in the British Parliament upon the subject of receiving a memorial from one termed the provision of the Constitution on this subject immoral. No honorable man, believing that memorial, which was presented to the House subject immoral. No honorable man, believing that memorial, which was presented to the House subject immoral. No honorable man, believing of Lords as this petition is presented to the House that memorial, which was presented to the House function of Lords as this petition is presented to the House function of Lords as this petition is presented to the House function of the Constitution on this subject immoral. No honorable man, believing of Lords as this petition is presented to the House function of Lords as this petition is presented to the House function of the Constitution on this subject immoral. No honorable man, believing of Lords as this petition is presented to the House function of the Constitution on this subject immoral. No honorable man, believing of Lords as this petition is presented to the House function of Lords as this petition is presented to the House function of Lords as this petition is presented to the House function of Lords as this petition is presented to the House function of Lords as this petition is presented to the House function of Lords as this petition is presented to the House function of Lords as this petition is presented to the House function of Lords as this petition is presented to the House function of Lords as this petition is presented to the House function of Lords as this petition is presented to the House function of Lords as the House function of Lords as this petition is presented to the House function of Lords as the House functi n the defeat of the friends of freedom, and of in the detent of the triends of recessom, and of the right of petition in that body; and that peti-tion, the petition of an American colony setting forth the grievances of which America com-plained, was refused reception by the House of Lords of Great Britain. But even that body did not go so far as it is proposed to go here. They did not refuse to permit debate upon the question of reception. The same rule prevailed there that prevails here; the member presenting the petition was required to state the sub-tance of it, petition was required to state the sub-tance of it, and the substance being stated, the question then arose upon the reception of the petition. Debate upon this question of reception was, in the case I have referred to, held to be in order, and was allowed, though reception was ultimately denied. The precedent, it seems to me, therefore, is in

Mr. Hale protested against the attempt of the Senator to deprive him of the floor.

After some conversation, the Vice President decided that, having the floor, he could not be deprived of it by the point of order.

Mr. Hale resumed his remarks, and corrected
the Senator from Alabama by observing that so

cer that is about striking into a vital part with palliatives, as to treat this question with palliatives. No, sir; my idea has been from the first that it was a disease that would be fatal, if not finally arrested; and I have acted upon that impression. If I am wrong, it is because the impression is wrong—and, in order to arrest it, it is necessary at every stage of it to understand the real causes and progress of the disease, and the causes by which it endangers the Union.

I intended to branch off here, and to show that the distinguished Senator, if this Union is ever Senator this morning, it comes south of Mason and Dixon's line, and not north, because we were not guilty of the agitation or discussion of this matter. I wish to say here, now and forever, that, for one, I can never consent, on any terms, that, for one, I can never consent, on any terms, conditions, or considerations, to surrender that right for which the fathers of the Revolution perilled everything they had on earth; that is, the right of trial by jury. It was one of the causes assigned in the Declaration of Independence, that justified our fathers in going into the Revolutionary war, that they had been in many cases deprived of the right of trial by jury. And if the right of trial by jury was worth a seven

if the right of trial by jury was worth a seven years' bloody war in 1776, it is certainly worth a struggle on this floor, and it will not be surrendered by me at least, at any hazard, or for fear of

dered by me at least, at any hazard, or for fear of any consequences.

Mr. Dickinson was impatient to get rid of the subject, and moved to lay the petition on the table, but withdrew the motion at the request of Mr. Badger of North Carolina, who said:

I am very sorry that the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Pratt] thought it necessary to raise this question on the introduction, as it appears to me, of a petition perfectly germane and proper, as the subject-matter to which it refers is now before the Senate. What is the petition? It is a petition praying Congress, in any bill that may fore the Senate. What is the petition? It is a petition praying Congress, in any bill that may pass for the recapture of fugitive slaves, to secure to them the right of trial by jury. Now, it is said, we have a bill before us on that subject. That is true. It is said, too, that we have an amendment to it before us. That is also true. But does it furnish any reason why the people of the United States should not have a right to express their entirings to the Senate as to the form press their opinions to the Senate as to the form we shall give to the measure we are going to we shall give to the measure we are going to
adopt? It seems to me gentlemen are running
away with this subject, and for misled objects.
It is said that the object is to prevent the producing of excitement; but permit me to say, in
the most kind and friendly manner, that whatever he may design, the course the Senator from Maryland is now taking, if persisted in, will but

Mr. Seward, (in his seat.) There is no doubt of it. Mr. Badger. And will but tend to produce Mr. Foote, (in his seat.) I think I shall have to give him up.

Mr. Calhoun. I will say good morning, or I will shake hands with him, if he thinks proper to offer his hand, but these are the only terms of intercourse I will hold with those who entertain opinions and doctrines such as he has avowed.

Mr. Davis of Mississippi. I do not intend to consume the time of the Senator from Illinois, or now to enter into any discussion or argument, but merely to say that, when the Senator from South Carolina delivered his speech, I did not understand it as it has been construed in the debate of this morning. The Senator said that, to finally and forever settle this question, certain things were necessary, which the North could easily provide. This I believed. These certain things were, he said, to do justice, by conceding to the South an equal right in the acquired terri-

stood:
YEAS—Messrs. Borland, Butler, Clemens, Daup the Whole on the state of the Union, and took
up the California Question.

and Turney—14.

Navs — Messrs. Badger, Baldwin, Bradbury, Chase, Clarke, Cooper, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Dayton, Dodge of Iowa, Dodge of Wisconsin, Douglas, Felch, Greene, Hale, Hamlin,

Jones, Mangum, Miller, Seward, Smith, Spru-ance, Sturgeon, Underwood, Upham, Wales, and Walker-27.

So the question of reception was not laid upon

the table.

The petition was then received.

The California Question was then taken up, and Mr. Douglas closed his speech upon the subject. In the course of his remarks he argued against the expediency of the Wilmot Provise, but indicated his purpose to obey the instructions of his Legislature to vote for it.

The subject was postponed till Tuesday, and the resolutions of Mr. Bell were then taken up.

Mr. Cass, having the floor, resumed his remarks. Mr. Cass, having the floor, resumed his remarks.
He advocated the admission of California, and
justified her action in forming a State Govern-

ment, on the ground that Congress had failed to give her a Territorial Government. Mr. Butler asked whether it had been the duty Mr. Butler asked whether it had been the duty of Congress, in the opinion of the Senator, to provide a Territorial Government.

Mr. Cass. There are two positions I have always maintained with reference to this subject. First, that Congress under the Constitution has no right to establish Governments for the Territories; secondly, that under no circumstances have they the right to pass any-law to regulate the internal affairs of the people inhabiting them. The first may be a matter of necessity; and when The first may be a matter of necessity; and when

the necessity exists, if a Senator votes for it, he votes upon his own responsibility to his constituents.
Mr. Chase. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. Cass. Certainly; I stand ready to be catechised all day on this subject, if Senators de-

Mr. Chase. Did I understand the Senator a saying that, in voting for a bill to establish a Government in the Territories, he would assume the exercise of any authority not given in the Mr. Cass. The honorable Senator will undoubtedly recollect that in a historical document called the Nicholson letter, I maintained that no power is given by the Constitution to establish Territorial Governments; but that where an im-

perious necessity exists for such a measure, the legislator who yields to it must look to his constituents for his justification.

Mr. Chase. I understood the Senator to say that there was no such authority given by the

Constitution.

Mr. Cass. I said that if we do an act not authorized by the Constitution, under a pressure of uecessity, that act must be done upon our own responsibility; and I refer the gentleman to the authority of Mr. Madison, who justified the action of the Congress of the Confederation on the subject of Territories upon this ground, and upon

this alone.

General Cass deprecated the language of Mr. Calhoun in relation to California.

I have already said that the speech of that honorable Senator inevitably leads us to the conclusion that upon the admission of California depends the dissolution of the Union. He likewise contended that an amendment to the Consti-tution was indispensable, and his remarks on yesterday seemed to connect the fate of the country with the accomplishment of this object.

Mr. Downs. The Senator from Michigan

states that the Senator from South Carolina re-marked in his speech that this amendment was indispensable. Now, I may have misunderstood his words, but certainly I think he only said i was desirable. General Cass read an extract from the speech to sustain the correctness of the construction he had given it. Mr. Downs. Do I understand the Senator as

aying that he understood the Senator from outh Carolina as asserting that the amendment bould he made now? Mr. Cass. The Senator from South Carolina, n the explanation he gave us, said he did not require it to be done now, but that it was indispenable that it should be done. Am I not right? Mr. Foote. The Senator from South Carolina said, I believe, that it would be indispensable ultimately. That, I think, was the word he used.

Mr. Butler made a few remarks, sustaining Mr.

ern Senator did. Mr. Foote, I understand now, from the expla nation that has been given by the colleague of the honorable Senator from South Carolian, that it is the opinion of both these gentlemen that an ent to the Constitution is indispensable

is their opinion?

Mr. Downs. I did not so understand the gentlenan. Mr. Foote. The Senator from South Carolina said there should be such a provision in the Con-stitution as would amount to a veto power in favor of the minority.

Mr. Downs. I did not put the construction upon

Does the Senator from Louisiana doubt that such

it which is put by the honorable Senator from Michigan, and I believe that Southern Senators Michigan, and I believe that Southern Senators generally did not.

Mr. Borland. As one Southern Senator, I will say that I did not.

Mr. Downs. I know of none that did.

Mr. Rusk. Will the honorable Senator from Michigan allow me simply to say that I hope the

Senator from Louisiana will not make a construc-tion or assume to speak for the entire South? We are all here. I do not choose that the Senator shall make a construction for me; that I can do for myself. Mr. Downs. I do not intend to speak for anybody but myself; but, so far as I know or have heard, the view that I have stated is that taken

heard, the view that I have stated is that taken by the whole South.

Mr. Foote. I hope the Senator from Michigan will permit me to add a single word. I know that the construction which I placed upon the honorathe construction which I placed upon the honorable Senator's remark is the construction that was given to it by nearly all the Southern members of this body. I could give their names, if necessary. I have said so before, and my word is not to be disputed by anybody.

Mr. Cass proceeded to animadvert at some length upon Mr. Calhoun's notion of an equilibrium of nower between the sections condensition. lebats.
10. Switzerland and the United States.—New York Ereing Post.
11. Seppi, the Goatherd.—Swiss Fairy Tale.

rium of power between the sections, condemning it in strong language,

Mr. Foote caused to be read a long extract from
the address of Judge Sharkey, President of the
Mississippi Convention that called the Nashville Convention, with a view to show that he and the Convention over which he presided contemplated no action not strictly within the pale of the Constitution. The Constitution they regarded as containing ample guaranties of their rights; they asked no amendment thereof.

On motion of Mr. Dayton, the further consid-

eration of the subject was postponed till Wednes-day next, and the Senate adjourned. FRIDAY, MARCH 15, 1850. This was the day set apart for the considera-tion of the Census bill. The debate was protract-ed, dull, and unprofitable, turning chiefly on the subject of printing, and on the claim set up by the Select Committee to the paternity of the census tables, which had been prepared substantially by the census board. The subject was at last post-

Saturday, the Senate did not sit.

MONDAY, MARCH 18, 1850. Monday, March 18, 1850.

Among the petitions presented to-day was one from Democratic citizens of Whitehead township, Chester county, Pennsylvania, against the Wilmot Proviso. It was received, and laid on the table. Mr. Atchison of Missouri moved that it be printed—an unusual courtesy—and the motion was referred to the Committee on Printing.

Mr. Badger, having the floor on Mr. Clay's resolutions, spoke for two hours in defence of slavery, and, without concluding, gave way for a motion to go into Executive session.

Before this was done, some conversation took place between Messrs. Hale, King, and Davis of Mississippi, concerning the statement of the first-

Mississippi, concerning the statement of the first-named Senator, that Mr. Buchanan had styled the Northern Democracy the natural ally of slavery. Messrs. King and Davis denied it. Mr. Hale said he would produce the proof of his assertion in a day or two.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13, 1850. Mr. Boyd of Kentucky asked the unanimou onsent of the House to present the Constitution of the State of California, and the memorial of the delegation from that State.

Mr. Alston of South Carolina objected to their

Mr. Alston of South Carolina objected to their reception.

Mr. Robinson of Indiana reported a bill from the Committee on Roads and Canals, to set apart and sell to Asa Whitney a portion of the public lands, to enable him to construct a railroad to the Pacific. Read twice and committed to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

Mr. Preston King submitted a resolution to terminate debate on the California Question in Committee of the Whole, next Wednesday; and on motion it was laid upon the table.

Mr. McLane of Maryland reported a bill for the establishment of a custom-house at Cincinnati.

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and took

Mr. Johnson offered a resolution, instructing the Committee on Territories to report bills for the admission of California, for the organization of Territorial Governments over the Territories west of the Rio Grande and east of California, for the retrocession of the District of Columbia, and for the reclamation of fugitive slaves. It was laid

n the table.

Mr. Disney of Ohio then addressed the Committee for an hour, in support of the doctrine and policy of Non-Intervention, and in opposition to the Wilmot Proviso.

Mr. Disney represents a district in Ohio. in which both the old parties have always signalized themselves by their professed devotion to the Wilmot Proviso; and the Democratic Convention that nominated him, pledged itself to the support of that measure.] The Committee rose, and the House adjourned

THURSDAY, MARCH 14, 1850. The House was engaged in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, on the Califor-

nia Question.

Mr. Hebard of Verment and Mr. Morse of Louisiana each occupied an hour in present his views on the subject. FRIDAY, MARCH 15, 1850.

The House to-day was entirely occupied in Committee of Whole, on private bills, in the con-sideration of which the public takes as little interest, as many of the members themselves MONDAY, MARCH 18, 1850. The House resolved itself into Committee of

the Whole on the state of the Union, and took up the California Question.

Mr. Williams of Tennessee spoke for an hour against the Wilmot Proviso. Mr. Casey of Indi-na argued in favor of the right of Congress over the question of slavery in the Territories, but in-sisted upon the policy recommended by General Taylor in his California message. Mr. Giddings delivered a speech on the argued on the case of delivered a speech on the general question of slavery, prefacing it with a brief reply to the speech of Mr. Winthrop, calling in question some of his statements. Mr. Thurston of Oregon then got the floor, the Committee rose, and the House ad-

MARRIAGE.

iourned.

At Cambridge, on the 14th instant, by the Rev. D. W. French, Rev. H. K. Lusk, of Cambridge, New York, to Miss MARGARET M., daughter of Rev. James Whyte, deceased, of Salem, New York

AGE OF WONDERS. In this age of wonderful improvements and travelling faellities, merchants think nothing of travelling a thou miles to make their purchases, when such a purchase is made profitable to them. There are many Clothing Dealers throughout the Union who go to Boston for the sake of triding at the famous OAK HALL.

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B WESSELHORET, M. D.

R. WESSELHOEFT, M. D. Brattleborough, Vt., March, 1850. March 21-3m TO REPORTERS. THE undersigned, having been appointed Reporter, for the State, of the proceedings and debates of the Convention to form a new Constitution for the State of Ohio, wishes to engage the services of several experienced and competent Reporters during the session of said Convention, which is to assemble at Columbus on the first Monday of

y next. of Boston, will be received up to the 15th of April. Addre J. V. SMITH, Paily Enquirer Office, Cincinnati Ohio.

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The New England Flag.—Journal of Commerce.
Deaf Smith. the Texan Spy.—Noah's Messenger
The Russian Loan.—Examiner. Germany.—Spectator.
President Taylor.—Examiner, Spectator, Journal des

With Postry and eleven Short Articles WASHINGTON, December 27, 1845.

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E R RENWICK.

June 7.

MONEY! MONEY!! MONEY!!!

W. B. JARVIS, Attorney at Law, Columbus, Ohio, will Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, Jowa, and Wisconsin, of that class of claims long since marked as "Loss," "Goue West," and "Not Collectable," by mechanics, newspaper publishers, manufacturers, and others. Five years' experience has given him condence; hence there will be no charge, but so far as collections are made, except postage. Carde, giving references, terms, and instructions, will be sent in answer to post paid letters.

Dec. 20.

Not content with this, the slave States induced legislation by Congress; and the Supreme Court of the United States have virtually decided that the Not content with this, the slave States induced logislation by Congress; and the Supreme Court of the United States have virtually decided that the whole subject is within the province of Congress; and exclusive of State authority. Nay, they have decided that slaves are to be regarded not merely as persons to be claimed, but as property and chaitels, to be seized without any legal authority or claim whatever. The compact is thus subverted by the procurement of the slave States. With what reason, then, can they expect the States ex gratia to reassume the obligations from which they caused those States to be discharged? I say, then, to the slave States, you are entitled to no more stringent laws; and that such laws would be useless. The cause of the inefficiency of the present statute is not at all the leniency of its provisions. It is a law that deprives the alleged refusee from a legal obligation not assumed by him, but imposed upon him by laws enacted before he was born, of the writ of habeas corpus, and of any certain judicial process of examination of the claim set up ty his pursuer, and finally degrades him into a chattel which may be seized and carried away peaceably wherever found, even although exercising the rights and responsibilities of a free citizen of the Commonwealth in which he resides, and of the United States—a law which denies to the citizen all the safeguards of personal liberty, to render less frequent the escape of the bondman. And since complaints are so freely made against the one side, I shall not hesitate to declare that there have been even greater faults on the other side. Relying on the perversion of the Constitution which makes slaves mere chattels, the slave States have applied to them the principles of the criminal law, and have held that he who aided the escape of his fellow-man from bondage was guilty of a larceny in stealing him. I speak of what I know. Two instances came within my own knowledge, in which Governors of slave States, under the provision of the Constitution relati

cape they permitted or assisted.

We deem the principle of the law for the recapture of fugitives, therefore, unjust, unconstitutional, and man animoral; and thus while patriotism withholds its approbation, the consciences of our people condemnite. immoral; and thus while patriotism wi hholds its approbation, the consciences of our people condemn is.

You will say that these convictions of ours are disloyal. Grant it for the sake of argument. They are, nevertheless, honest; and the law is to be executed among us, not among you; not by us, but by the Federal authority. Has any Government ever succeeded in changing the moral convictions of its subjects by force? But these convictions imply no disloyalty. We reverence the Constitution, although we perceive this defect, just as we acknowledge the splendor and the power of the sun, although its surface is tarnished with here and there an opaque spot.

its surface is tarnished with here and there an opaque spot.
Your Constitution and laws convert hospitality to the refugee from the most degrading oppression on earth into a crime, but all mankind except you esteem that hospitality a virtue. The right of extradition of a fugitive from justice is not admitted by the law of nature and of nations, but rests in voluntary compacts. I know of only two compacts found in diplomatic history that admitted extradition of SLAVES. Here is one of them. It is found in a treaty of peace made between Alexander Comnenus and Leontine, Greek Emperors at Constantinople, and Oleg, King of Russia, in the year 902, and is in these words:

and is in these words:

"If a Russian slave take flight, or even if he is carried away by any one under pretence of having been bought, his master shall have the right and power to pursue him, and hunt for and capture him wherever he shall be found; and any person who shall oppose the master in the execution of this right shall be deemed guilty of violating this treaty, and be punished accordingly."

This was in the year of Grace 902, in the period called the "Dark Ages," and the contracting Powers were despotisms. And here is the other:

"No person held to service or labor in one State, und This is from the Constitution of the United States in 1787, and the parties were the republican States of this Union. The law of nations disavows such compacts; the law of nature, written on the hearts and consciences of freemen, repudiates them. Armed power could not enforce them, because there is no public conscience to sustain them. I know that there are laws of various sorts which regulate the conduct of men. There are constitutions and statutes, codes mercantile and codes civil; but when we are legislating for States, especially when we are founding States, all these laws must be brought to the standard of the laws of God, and must be tried by that standard, and must stand or fall by it. This principle was happily explained by one of the most distinguished political philosophers of England in these emphatic words: This is from the Constitution of the United States

There is but one law for all, namely, that law which "There is but one law for all, namely, that law which governs all law, the law of our Creator, the law of humanity, justice, equity, the law of nature and of nations. So far as any laws fortify this primeval law, and give it more precision, more energy, more effect, by their declarations, such laws enter into the sanctuary and participate in the sacredness of its character; but the man who quotes as precedents the abuses of tyrants and robbers, pollutes the very fountains of justice, destroys the foundations of all law, and therefore removes the only safegured against will law, and therefore removes the only safegured against will

There was deep philosophy in the confession of an eminent English judge. When he had condemned a young woman to death, under the late sanguinary code of his country, for her first petty theft, she fell

eminent English judge. When he had condemned a young woman to death, under the late sanguinary code of his country, for her first petty theft, she fell down dead at his feet: "I seem to myself, said he, to have been pronouncing sentence, not against the prisoner, but against the law itself."

To conclude on this point. We are not slaveholders. We cannot, in our judgment, be either true Christians or real freemen, if we impose on another a chain that we defy all human power to fasten on ourselves You believe and think otherwise, and doubtlessly with equal sincerity. We judge you not, and He alone who ordained the conscience of man and its laws of action can judge us. Do we, then, in this conflict, demand of you an unreasonable thing in asking that, since you will have property that can and will exercise human powers to effect its escape, you shall be your own police, and in acting among us as such you shall conform to principles indispensable to the security of admitted rights of freemen? If you will have this law executed, you must alleviate, not increase, its rigors.

Another feature in most of these plans of compromise is a bill of peace for slavery in the District of Columbia; and this bill of peace we cannot grant. We of the free States are, equally with you of the slave States, responsible for the existence of slavery in this District, the field exclusively of our common legislation. I regret that, as yet, I see little reason to hope that a majority in favor of emancipation exists here. The Legislature of New York, from whom, with great deference, I dissent, seems willing to accept now the extinction of the slave trade, and waive emancipation. But we shall assume the whole responsibility if we stipulate not to exercise the power hereafter when a majority shall be obtained. Nor will the plea with which you would furnish us be of any avail. If I could understand so mysterious a paradox myself,

when a majority shall be obtained. Nor will the plea with which you would furnish us be of any avail. If I could understand so mysterious a paradox myself, I never should be able to explain to the apprehension of the people whom I represent how it was that an absolute and express power to legislate in all cases over the District of Columbia was embarrassed and defeated by an implied condition not to legislate for the abelition of slavery in this District. Sir, I shall vote for that measure, and am willing to appropriate any means necessary to carry it into execution. And, if I shall be asked what I did to embellish the capital of my country, I will point to her freedmen, and say, these are the monuments of my munificence!

cence!

If I was willing to advance a cause that I deem

and say, these are the monuments of my munificence!

If I was willing to advance a cause that I deem sacred by disingenuous means, I would advise you to adopt those means of compromise which I have thus examined. The echo is not quicker in its response than would be that loud and universal cry of repeal, that would not die away until the habeas corpus was secured to the alleged fugitive from bondage, and the symmetry of the free institutions of the capital was perfected.

I apply the same observations to the proposition for a waiver of the Proviso of Freedom in Territorial charters. Thus far you have only direct popular action in favor of that Ordinance, and there seems even to be a partial disposition to await the action of the people of the new Territories, as we have compulsorily waited for it in California. But I must tell you, nevertheless, in candor and in plainness, that the spirit of the people of the free States is set upon a spring that rises with the pressure put upon it. That spring, if pressed too hard, will give a recoil that will not leave here one servant who knew his master's will, and did it not.

You will say that this implies violence. Not at all, It implies only peaceful, lawful, constitutional, customary action. I cannot too strongly express my surprise that those who insist that the people of the slave States cannot be held back from remedies outside of the Constitution, should so far misunderstand us of the free States as to suppose we would not exercise our constitutional rights to sustain the policy which we deem just and beneficent.

I come now to notice the suggested compromise of the boundary between Texas and New Mexico. This is a judicial question in its nature, or at least a question of legal right and title. If it is to be compromised at all, it is due to the two parties, and to national dignity as well as to justice, that it be kept separate from compromises proceeding on the ground of expediency, and be settled by itself alone.

I take this occasion to say, that while I do not

sledge by law that they have a right to come in as slave States?

Mr. SEWARD. When the States are once formed, they have the right to come in as free or slave States, according to their own choice; but what I finds it, that they cannot be formed at all without the consent of Congress, to be hereafter given, which consent Congress is not obliged to give. But I pass that question for the present, and proceed to say that I am not prepared to admit that the Article of the Annexation of Texas is itself constitutional. I find no authority in the Constitution of the United States

tion of Congress, and no power adequate to that purpose but the treaty-making power of the President and the Senate. Entertaining this view, I must insist that the coustitutionality of the annexation of Texas herself shall be cleared up before I can agree to the admission of any new States to be formed within Texas.

0 a Cl.

to the admission of any new States to be formed within Texas.

Mr. FOOTE. Did not I hear the Senator observe that he would admit California, whether slavery was or was not precluded from these Territories?

Mr. SEWARD. I said I would have voted for the admission of California even as a slave State, under the extraordinary circumstances which I have before distinctly described. I say that now; but I say also, that before I would agree to admit any more States from Texas, the circumstances which render such act necessary must be shown, and must be such as to determine my obligation to do so; and that is precisely what I insist cannot be settled now. It must be left for those to whom the responsibility will belong.

must be left for those to whom the responsionity win belong.

Mr. President, I understand, and I am happy in understanding, that I agree with the honorable Senator from Massachusetts, that there is no obligation upon Congress to admit four new slave States out of Texas, but that Congress has reserved her right to say whether those States shall be formed and admitted or not. I shall rely on that reservation. I shall vote to admit no more slave States, unless under circumstances absolutely compulsory.

Mr. WEBSTER. What I said was, that if the States hereafter to be made out of Texas choose to Mr. WEBSTER. What I said was, that if the States hereafter to be made out of Texas choose to come in as slave States, they have a right so to do.

Mr. SEWARD. My position is, that they have not a right to come in at all, if Congress rejects their institutions. The subdivision of Texas is a matter optional with both parties, Texas and the United States.

Mr. WEBSTER. Does the honorable Senator mean to say that Congress can hereafter decide whether they shall be slave or free States?

Mr. SEWARD. I mean to say that Congress can hereafter decide whether they shall be slave or free States?

whether they shall be slave or free States?

Mr. SEWARD. I mean to say that Congress can hereafter decide whether any States, slave or free, can be framed out of Texas. If they should never be framed out of Texas, they never could be admitted.

Anuthor education arises out of the principle on which the demand for compromise rests. That principle assumes a classification of the States as Northern and Southern States, as it is expressed by the honorable Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Calmoux,] but into slave States and free States, as more directly expressed by the honorable Senator from Georgia, [Mr. Branken.] The argument is, that the States are severally equal, and that the Constitution was founded on that equilibrium. That the States being equal, and the classes of the States being equal, and the classes of the States being equal in rights, they are to be regarded as constituting an association in which each State, and each of these classes of States, respectively, contribute in due proportions. That the new Territories are a common acquisition, and the people of these several States and classes of States have an equal right to participate in them, respectively. That the right of the people of the slave States to emigrate to the Territories with their slaves as property is necessary to afford such a participation on their part, inasmuch as the people of the free States emigrate into the same Territories with their property. And the argument deduces from this right the principle that, if Congress exclude slavery from any part of this new domain, it would be only just to set off a portion of the domain—some say south of 36 deg. 30 min., others south of 34 deg.—which should be regarded at least as free to slavery, and to be organized into slave States.

Argument ingenious and subtle, declamation ear-

as free to slavery, and to be organized into slave States.

Argument ingenious and subtle, declamation earnest and bold, and persuasion gentle and winning as the voice of the turtle dove when it is heard in the land, all alike and altogether have failed to convince me of the soundness of this principle of the proposed compromise, or of any one of the propositions on which it is attempted to be established.

How is the original equality of the States proved? It rests on a syllogism of Vattel, as follows: All men are equal by the law of nature and of nations. But States are only lawful aggregations of individual men, who severally are equal. Therefore, States are equal in natural rights. All this is just and sound. But assuming the same premises, to wil, that all men are equal by the law of nature and of nations, the right of property in slaves falls to the ground; for one who is equal to another cannot be the owner or property of that other. But you answer, that the Constitution recognises property in slaves. It would be sufficient, then, to reply that this constitutional recognition must be void, because it is repugnant to the law of nature and of nations. But I deny that the Constitution recognises property in man. I submit, on the other hand, most respectfully, that the Constitution not merely does not affirm that principle, but, on the contrary, altogether excludes it.

The Constitution does not expressly affirm any-

firm that principle, but, on the contrary, altogether excludes it.

The Constitution does not expressly affirm anything on the subject; all that it contains is two incidental allusions to slaves. These are, first, in the provision establishing a ratio of representation and taxation; and, secondly, in the provision relating to fuglitives from labor. In both cases the Constitution designedly mentions slaves, not as slaves, much less as chattels, but as persons. That this recognition of them as persons was designed is historically known, and I think was never denied. I give only two of the manifold proofs. First, John Jay, in the Federalist, says:

"Let the case of the slaves be considered, as it is in

in the Federalist, says:

"Let the case of the slaves be considered, as it is in truth, a peculiar one. Let the compromising expedient of

inhabilant, a person, a living, preatning, moving, reasoning, immortal man.

The other proof is from the Debates in the Convention. It is brief, and I think instructive:

"August 28, 1787.—Mr. Butlers and Mr. Pinckers woved to require fugitive slaves and servants to be delivered up like convicts.

"Mr. Wilson. This would oblige the Executive of the State to do it at public expense.

"Mr. Sherman saw no more propriety in the public seizing and surrendering a slave or a servant than a horse.

"Mr. Butler and survendering a slave or a servant than a horse.
"Mr. Butler and survendering a slave or a servant than a horse article.

"Mr. BUTLER WHINTEN HE PROVIDED HE SOME PARTICULAR TOWN IN SOME PARTICULAR TOW they escape, but shall be delivered 'p to the person justly claiming their service or labor.' "

"After the engrossment, September 15, page 550, article 4, section 2, the 3d paragraph, the term 'legally' was struck out, and the words 'under the laws thereof' inserted after the word 'State,' in compliance with the wishes of some who thought the term 'legal' equivocal, and favoring the idea that slavery was legal in a moral view."—Madison Debates, pp. 487, 492.

I deem it established, then, that the Constitution

I deem it established, then, that the Constitution does not recognise property in man, but leaves that question, as between the States, to the law of nature and of nations. That law, as expounded by Vattel, is founded in the reason of things. When God had created the earth, with its wonderful adaptations, he gave dominion over it to man, absolute human dominion. The title of that dominion thus bestowed would have been incomplete, if the Lord of all terrestrial things could himself have been the property of his fellow-man.

of his fellow-man.

The right to have a slave implies the right in some

restrial things could himself have been the property of his fellow-man.

The right to have a slave implies the right in some one to make the slave; that right must be equal and mutual, and this would resolve society into a state of perpetual war. But if we grant the original equality of the States, and grant also the constitutional recognition of slaves as property, still the argument we are considering fails. Because the States are not parties to the Constitution as States; it is the Constitution of the People of the United States.

But even if the States continue as States, they surrendered their equality as States, and submitted themselves to the sway of the numerical majority, with qualifications or checks; first, of the representation of three-fifths of slaves in the ratio of representation and taxation; and, secondly, of the equal representation of States in the Scnate.

The proposition of an established classification of States as slave States and free States as insisted on by some, and into Northern and Southern as maintained by others, seems to me purely imaginary, and of course the supposed equilibrium of those classes a mere conceit. This must be so, because when the Constitution was adopted twelve of the thirteen States were slave States, and so there was no equilibrium. And so as to the classification of States as Northern States and Southern States. It is the maintenance of slavery by law in a State, not parallels of latidude, that makes it a Southern State, and there was no equilibrium. But the Constitution was made not only for Southern and Northern States, but for States neither Northern row Southern—the Western States, heir coming in being foreseen and provided for.

It needs little argument to show that the idea of a joint stock association, or a copartnership, as applicable even by its analogies to the United States, is erroneous, with all the consequences fancifully deduced from it. The United States are a political state, or organized society, whose end is government, for the security, wel

asserts the sovereignty to be, not in the States, but in the People, but also promulgates the objects of the Constitution:

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the onesnead well-ranguility, provide for the common defence, promote the onesnead well-ranguility, provide for the common defence, promote the onesnead well-ranguility, provide for the common defence, promote the onesnead well-ranguility.

Objects sublime and benevolent! They exclude the very idea of conquests, to be either divided among States or even enjoyed by them, for the purpose of securing, not the blessings of liberty, but the evils of slavery. There is a novelty in the principle of the compromise which condemns it. Simultaneously with the establishment of the Constitution, Virginia ceded to the United States her domain, which then extended to the Mississippl, and was even claimed to extend to the Pacific ocean. Congress accepted it, and unanimously devoted the domain to freedom, in the language from which the Ordinance now so severely condemned was borrowed. Five States have already been organized on this domain, from all of which, in pursuance of that Ordinance, slavery is excluded. How did it happen that this theory of the equality of States, of the classification of States, of the equilibrium of States, of the classification of States, of the equilibrium of States, of the other of the domain, or to an equitable and just partition between them, was never promulgated, nor even dreamed of by the slave States when they unanimously consented to that Ordinance?

There is another aspect of the principle of compromise which deserves consideration. It assumes that slavery, is not the only institution, and that this characteristic is recognised by the Constitution. But slavery is only one of many institutions there. Freedom is equally an institution there. Slavery is only a temporary, accidental, partial, and incongru-

mon with all the free citizens of the State. But it is, moreover, an indispensable institution. You may separate slavery from South Carolina, and the State will still remain; but if you subvert freedom there, the State will case to exist. But the principle of this compromise gives complete ascendency in the slave State, and in the Constitution of the United States, to the subordinate, accidental, and incongruous institution over its paramount antagonist. To reduce this claim for slavery to an absurdity, it is only necessary to add that there are only two States in which slaves are a majority, and not one in which the slaveholders are not a very disproportionate minority.

This is a State, and we are deliberating for it, just as our fathers deliberated in establishing the institutions we enjoy. Whatever superiority there is in our condition and hopes over those of any other "kingdom" or "estate" is due to the fortunate circumstance that our ancestors did not leave things to "take their chance," but that they "added amplitude and greatness" to our commonwealth "by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as were wise." We in our turn have succeeded to the same responsibilities, and we cannot approach the duty before us wisely or justly, except we raise ourselves to the great consideration of how we can most certainly "sow greatness to our posterity and successors."

we raise ourselves to the great consideration of how we can most certainly "sow greatness to our posterity and successors."

And now the simple, bold, and even awful question which presents itself to us is this: Shall we, who are founding institutions, social and political, for countless millions; shall we, who know by experience the wise and the just, and are free to choose them, and to reject the erroneous and unjust; shall we establish human bondage, or permit it by our sufferance to be established? Sir, our forefathers would not have hesitated an hour. They found slavery existing here, and they left it only because they could not remove it. There is not only no free State which would now establish it, but there is no slave State, which, if it had had the free alternative as we now have, would have founded slavery. Indeed, our revolutionary predecessors had precisely the same question before them in establishing an organic law under which the States of Ohlo, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa, have since come into the Union, and they solemnly repudiated and excluded slavery from those States forever. I confess that the most alarming evidence of our degeneracy which has yet been given is found in the fact that we even debate such a question.

Sir, there is no Christian nation thus free to choose as we are, which would establish slavery. I speak on due consideration, because Britain, France, and Mexico, have abolished slavery, and all other European States are preparing to abolish it as speedily as they can. We cannot establish slavery, because there are certain elements of the security, welfare, and greatness of nations, which we all admit or ought to admit, and recognise as essential, and these are the security of natural rights, the diffusion of knowledge, and the freedom of industry. Slavery is incompatible with all of these, and just in proportion to the extent that it prevails and controls in any republican State, just to that extent it subjects the principle of democracy, and converts the State int

tent that it prevails and controls in any republican State, just to that extent it subverts the principle of democracy, and converts the State into an aristocracy or a despotism. I will not offend sensibilities by drawing my proofs from the slave States exising among ourselves. But I will draw them from the greatest of the Europeon slave States.

The population of Russia in Europe, in 1844, was - 54,251,000 of these were serfs - 55,500,000

The residue nobles, clergy, and mer-

The residue nobles, clergy, and merchants, &c. 751,000

The Imperial Government abandons the control over the fifty-three and a half millions to their owners, and these owners, included in the 751,000, are thus a privileged class, or aristocracy. If ever the Government interferes at all with the serfs, who are the only laboring population, it is by edicts designed to abridge their opportunities of education, and thus continue their debasement. What was the origin of this system? Conquest, in which the captivity of the conquered was made perpetual and hereditary. this system? Conquest, in which the captivity of the conquered was made perpetual and hereditary. This, it seems to me, is identical with American slavery, only at one and the same time exaggrerated by the greater disproportion between the privileged classes and the slaves in their respective numbers, and yet relieved of the unhappiest feature of American slavery, the distinction of castes. What but this renders Russia at once the most arbitrary despotism and the most barbarous State in Europe? And what is its effect, but industry comparatively profit-less, and sedition, not occasional and partial, but chronic and pervading the Empire. I speak of slavery not in the language of fancy, but in the language of philosophy. Montesquieu remarked upon the proposition to introduce slavery into France, that the demand for slavery was the demand of luxury and corruption, and not the demand of patriotism. Of all

the proposition to introduce slavery into France, that the demand for slavery was the demand of luxury and corruption, and not the demand of patriotism. Of all slavery, African slavery is the worst, for it combines practically the features of what is distinguished as real slavery or serfdom with the personal slavery known in the Oriental world. Its domestic features lead to vice, while its political features render it injurious and dangerous to the State.

I cannot stop to debate long with those who maintain that slavery is itself practically economical and humane. I might be content with saying that there are some axioms in political science that a statesman or a founder of States may adopt, especially in the Congress of the United States, and that among those axioms are these: That all men are created equal, and have inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the choice of pursuits of happiness. That knowledge promotes virtue, and righteousness exalteth a nation. That freedom is preferable to slavery, and that democratic governments, where they can be maintained by acquiescence, without force, are preferable to institutions exercising arbitrary and irresponsible power.

It remains only to remark that our own experience has proved the dangerous influence and tendency of slavery. All our apprehensions of dangers, present and future, begin and end with slavery. It slavery, limited as it yet is, now threatens to subvert the Constitution, how can we, as wise and prudent statesmen, enlarge its boundaries and increase its influence, and thus increase already impending dangers? Whether, then, I regard merely the welfare of the future inhabitants of the new Territories, or the security and welfare of the whole people of the United States, or the welfare of the whole people of the United States, or the welfare of the whole family of mankind, I cannot consent to introduce slavery into any part of this continent which is now ex-

Sinte, and in the Constitution of the United States, to the subordinate, accidental, and incongruous incatiful to the subordinate, accidental, and incongruous inconsistent to the search to the subordinate, accidental, and incongruous inconsistent to the search to the subordinate, accidental, and incongruous inconsistent to the search to the subordinate, accidental, and incongruous inconsistent to the search to the subordinate, accidental, and incongruous inconsistent to the search to the subordinate, accidental, and incongruous inconsistent to the search to the subordinate, accidental, and incongruous inconsistent to the search to the subordinate, accidental, and incongruous inconsistent to the subordinate, accidental, and incongruous inconsistent to the subordinate, and not the genial climate of New Mexico and Eastern California?

Sir, there is no climate uncongenial to subavery. It is true it is less productive than free labor, and it which slaves are a majority, and not one in which slaves are a majority, and not one in which slaves are a majority, and not one in which slaves are not a very disproportionate minority.

Sir, there is no climate of New Mexico and Eastern California?

Sir, there is no climate of New Iso portion in which slaves are not a very disproportion to the strue is true it was acquired by the valor and with the wealth of the whole nation. But we hold, nevertheless, no are the repair of the work of the work of the was acq

any climate, and not the natural necessity, that introduces slavery in any climate.

I shall dwell only very-briefly on the argument derived from the Mexican laws. The proposition, that
those laws must remain in force until altered by laws
of our own, is satisfactory; and so is the proposition
that those Mexican laws abolished and continue to

Kentucky [Mr. C.A.y] says that the danger lies in the violence of party spirit, and refers us for proof to the difficulties which attended the organization of the House of Representatives.

Sir, in my humble judgment, it is not the fierce conflict of parties that we are seeing and hearing; but, on the contrary, it is the agony of distracted parties—a convulsion resulting from the too narrow foundations of both and of all parties—foundations laid in compromises of natural justice and of human liberty. A question, a moral question, transcending the too narrow creeds of parties, has arisen: the public conscience expands with it, and the green withes of party associations give way and break, and fall off from it. No, sir; it is not the State that is dying of the fever of party spirit. It is merely a paralysis of parties, premonitory however of their restoration, with new elements of health and vigor to be imbibed from that spirit of the age which is so justly called Progress.

Nor is the evil that of unlicensed, irregular, and turbulent faction. We are told that twenty Legislatures are in session, burning like furnaces, heating and inflaming the popular passions. But these twenty Legislatures are constitutional urraces, the resultional jurisdiction. If they rage beyond its limits, the popular passions of this country are not at all, I think, in danger of being inflamed to excess. No, sir; let none of these fires be extinguished. Forever let them burn and blaze. They are neither ominous meteors nor baleful comets, but planets; and bright and intense as their heat may be, it is their native temperature, and they must still obey the law which, by attraction toward this solar centre, holds them in their spheres.

I see nothing of that conflict between the Southern and Northern States, or between the Southern and Northern States, or between their representative bodies, which seems to be on all sides of me assumed. Not a word of menace, not a word of anger, not an intemperate word, has been uttered in the Northern Legisl

influence, and thus increase already impending langers? Whether, then, I regard merely the start of the future inhabitants of the new Territories, and the property of the future inhabitants of the new Territories. It was a search that convictions, but at the same time they in the United State, or the welfare of the whole family of mankind, I cannot consent to introduce she very into any part of this continent which is now. The theorem is the United State, of the welfare of the whole family of mankind, I cannot consent to introduce she very into any part of this continent which is now in the United States of the Consent of the United States of the Consent of

who has told us, in regard to factions, that "no safe reliance can be placed in the force of nature and the bravery of words, except it be corroborated by custom." Do the alarmists remember that this Government has stood sixty years already without exacting one drop of blood? that this Government has stood sixty years, and treason is an obsolete crime? That day, I trust, is far off when the fountains of popular contentment shall be broken up; but. whenever it shall come, it will bring forth a higher illustration than has ever yet been given of the excellence of the Democratic system; for then it will be seen how calmly, how firmly, how nobly, a great people can act in preserving their Constitution: whom "love of country moveth, example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, and glory exalteth."

"love of country moveth, example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, and glory exalteth."

When the founders of the new Republic of the South come to draw over the face of this empire, along or between its parallels of latitude or longisted, their ominous lines of dismemberment, soon to be broadly and deeply shaded with fraternal blood, they may come to the discovery then, if not before, that the natural and even the political connections of the region embraced forbid such a partition; that its possible divisions are not Northern and Southern at all, but Eastern and Western, Atlantic and Pacific; and that Nature and Commerce have allied indissolubly for weal and wo the seceders and those from whom they are to be separated; that, while they would rush into a civil war to restore an imaginary equilibrium between the Northern States and the Southern States, a new equilibrium has taken its place, in which all those States are on the one side, and the boundless West is on the other.

Sir, when the founders of the new Republic of the South come to draw those fearful lines, they will indicate what portions of the continent are 'o be broken off from their connection with the Atlantic, through the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, the Delaware, the Potomac, and the Mississippi; what portion of this people are to be denied the use of the lakes, the railroads, and the canals, now constituting common and customary avenues of travel, trade, and social intercourse; what families and kindred are to be separated, and converted into enemies; and what States are to be the seenes of perpetual border warfare, aggravated by interminable horrors of servile insurrection. When those portentous lines shall be drawn, they will disclose what portion of this people is to retain the army and the navy, and the flag of so many victories; and, on the other hand, what portion of the people is to be subjected to new and ominous imposts, direct taxes, and forced loans, and conscriptions, to maintain an opposing army, an opposing navy, an

And Concession and the properties of the analyses of the second of the s

or call of unawful perversions of the question of slavery, as some suppose, but from the want of moral courage to meet this question of emancipation as we ought. Consequently, we hear on one side demands—absurd, indeed, but yet uncensing—for an immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery, as if any power, except the people of the slave States, could abolish it, and as if they could be moved to abolish it by merely sounding the trumpet violently and proclaiming emancipation, while the institution is interwoven with all their social and political interests, constitutions, and customs.

On the other hand, our statesmen say that "slavery has always existed, and, for aught they know or can do, it always must exist. God permitted it, and he alone can indicate the way to remove it." As if the Supreme Creator, after giving us the instructions of his providence and revelation for the illumination of our minds and consciences, did not leave us, in all human transactions, with due invocations of his Holy Spirit, to seek out his will and execute it for ourselves.

of his Holy Spirit, to seek out his will and execute it for ourselves.

Here, then, is the point of my separation from both of these parties. I feel assured that slavery must give way, and will give way, to the salutary instructions of economy, and to the ripening influences of humanity; that emancipation is inevitable, and is near; that it may be hastened or hindered; and that whether it be peaceful or violent, depends u on the question whether it be hastened or hindered; that all measures which fortify slavery or extend it, tend to the consummation of violence; all that

ed; that all measures which fortify slavery or extend it, tend to the consummation of violence; all that check its extension and abate its strength, tend to its peaceful extirpation. But I will adopt none but lawful, constitutional, and peaceful means, to secure even that end; and none such can I or will I forego. Nor do I know any important or responsible body that proposes to do more than this. No free State claims to extend its legislation into a slave State. None claims that Congress shall usurp power to abolish slavery in the slave States. None claims that any violent, unconstitutional, or unlawful measabolish stavery in the stave States. None claims that any violent, unconstitutional, or unlawful measure shall be embraced. And, on the other hand, if we offer no scheme or plan for the adoption of the slave States, with the assent and co-operation of Congress, it is only because the slave States are unwilling as yet to receive such suggestions, or even to entertain the question of emancipation in any form.

slave States, with the assent and co-operation of Congress, it is only because the slave States are uncovilling as yet to receive such suggestions, or even to entertain the question of emancipation in any form.

But, sir, I will take this occasion to say that, while I cannot agree with the honorable Senator from Massachusetts in proposing to devote eighty millions of dollars to remove the free colored population from the slave States, and thus, as it appears to me, fortify slavery, there is no reasonable limit to which I am not willing to go in applying the national treasures to effect the peaceful, voluntary remeval of slavery itself.

I have thus endeavored to show that there is not now, and there is net likely to occur, any adequate cause for revolution in regard to slavery. But you reply that, nevertheless, you must have guaranties; and the first one is for the surrender of fugitives from labor. That guaranty you cannot roll back the tide of social progress. You must be content with what you have. If you wage war against us, you can, at most, only conquer us, and then all you can get will be a treaty, and that you have already.

But you insist on a guaranty against the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbis, at yar. Well, when you shall have declared war against us, what shall binder us from immediately decreeing that slavery shall cease within the national capital? You say that you will not submit to the exclusion of slaves from the new Territories. What will you gain by resistance? Liberty follows the sword. You insist that you cannot submit to the freedom with which slavery is discussed in the free States. Will war—a war for elavery—arrest or even moderate that discussion will not cease; war would only inflame it to a greater height. It is a part of the eternal conflict between truth and error—botween mind and physical force—the conflict of man against the obstacles which oppose his way to an ultimate and glorious destiny. It will go on until you shall terminate it in the only way in which any

ries.

Slavery has a guaranty still stronger than these in the prejudices of caste and color, which induce even large majorities in all the free States to regard sympathy with the slave as an act of unmanly humiliation and self-abasement, although phi-

losophy meekly expresses her distrust of the asserted natural superiority of the white race, and confidently denies that such a superiority, if justly claimed, could give a title to oppression.

There remains one more guaranty—one that has seldom failed you, and will seldom fail you hereafter. New States cling in closer alliance than older ones to the Federal power. The concentration of the slave power enables you for long periods to control the Federal Government with the aid of the new States. I do not know the sentiments of the representatives of California, but my word for it, if they should be admitted on this floor to-day, against your most obstinate opposition, they would, on all questions really affecting your interests, be found at your side.

With these alliances to break the force of emancipation, there will be no disunion and no secession.

I do not say that there may not be disturbance,
though I do not apprehend even that. Absolute
regularity and order in administration have not yet
been established in any Government, and unbroken
popular tranquillity has not yet been attained in even
the most advanced condition of human society.

The machinery of our system is necessarily com-The machinery of our system is necessarily com-plex. A pivot may fall out here, a lever may be dis-placed there, a wheel may fall out of gearing else-where, but the machinery will soon recover its regu-larity and move on just as before, with even better adaptation and adjustment to overcome new obstruc-

adaptation and adjustment to overcome new obstructions.

There are many well-disposed persons who are
alarmed at the occurrence of any such disturbance.
The failure of a legislative body to organize is to
their apprehension a fearful cmen, and an extra-constitutional assemblage to consult upon public affairs
is with them cause for desperation. Even Senators
speak of the Union as if it existed only by consent,
and, as it seems to be implied, by the assent of the
Legislatures of the States. On the contrary, the
Union was not founded in voluntary choice, nor does
it exist by voluntary consent.

Legislatures of the States. On the contrary, the Union was not founded in voluntary choice, nor does it exist by voluntary consent.

A Union was proposed to the colonies by Frank-lin and others, in 1754; but such was their aversion to an abridgment of their own importance, respectively, that it was rejected even under the pressure of a disastrous invasion by France.

A Union of choice was proposed to the colonies in 1775; but so strong was their opposition that they went through and through the war of Independence without having established more than a mere council of consultation.

But with independence came enlarged interests of agriculture—absolutely new Interests of manufactures—interests of commerce, of fisheries, of navigation, of a common domain, of common debts, of common revenues and taxation, of the administration of justice, of public defence, of public honor; in short, interests of common nationality and sovereignty—interests which at last compelled the adoption of a more perfect union—a National Government.

the anvil, in their constant circle of internal and international exchange—stronger in the long rivers perctrating regions before unknown—stronger in all the artificial roads, canals, and other channels and averues essential not only to trade but to defence—stronger in steam navigation, in steam locomotion on the land, and in telegraph communications, unknown when the Constitution was adopted—stronger in the freedom and in the growing empire of the seas—stronger in the element of national honor in all lands, and stronger than all in the now settled habits of veneration and affection for institutions so stupendous and so useful.

The Union, then, is, not because merely that men choose that it shall be, but because some Government must exist here, and no other Government than this can. If it could be dashed to atoms by the whirlwind, the lightning, or the carthquake, to-day, it much the constitution is a constant.

This nation is a globe still accumulating upon accumulation, not a dissolving sphere.

I have heard somewhat here, and almost for the first time in my life, of divided allegiance—of allegiance to the South and to the Union—of allegiance to States severally and to the Union, Sir, if sympathies with State emulation and pride of achievement could be allowed to raise up another sovereign to divide the allegiance of a citizen of the United States, I might recognise the claims of the State to which, by birth and gratitude, I belong—to the State of Hamilton and Jay, of Schuyler, of the Clintons, and of Fulton—the State which, with less than two hundred miles of natural navigation connected with the ocean, has, by her own enterprise, secured to herself the commerce of the continent, and is steadily advancing to the command of the commerce of the tworld. But for all this I know only one country and one sovereign—the United States of America and the American People. And such as my allegiance is, is the loyalty of every States of America and the American People. And such as my allegiance is, is the loyalty of every other citizen of the United-States. As I speak, he will speak when his time arrives. He knows no other country, and no other sovereign. He has life, liberty, property, and precious affections, and hopes for himself and for his posterity, treasured up in the ark of the Union. He knows as well and feels as strongly as I do that this Government is his own Government; that he is a part of it; that it was established for him, and that it is maintained by him; that it is the only truly wise, just, free, and equal Government that has ever existed; that no other Government could be so wise, just, free, and equal; and that it is safer and more beneficent than any which time or change could bring into its

any which time or change could bring into its place.

You may tell me, sir, that although all this may You may tell me, sir, that although all this may be true, yet the trial of faction has not yet been made. Sir, if the trial of faction has not been made, it has not been because faction has not always existed, and has not always menaced a trial, but because faction could find no fulcrum on which to place the lever to subvert the Union, as it can find no fulcrum now; and in this is my confidence. I would not rashly provoke the trial; but I will not suffer a fear, which I have not, to make me compromise one sentiment, one principle of truth or justice, to ayert a danger that all experience teaches me is purely chimerical. Let, then, those who distrust the Union make compromises to save it. I shall not impeach their wisdom, as I certainly cannot their patriotism; but indulging no such apprehensions myself, I shall vote for the admission of California directly, without conditions, without qualifications, and without compromise.

hensions myself, I shall vote for the admission of California directly, without conditions, without qualifications, and without compromise.

For the vindication of that vote I look not to the verdict of the pass, any hour, disturbed as the public mind now is by conflicting interests and passions, but to that period, happily not far distant, when the vast regions over which we are now legislating shall have received their destined inhabitants.

While looking forward to that day, its countless generations seem to me to be rising un and passing

While looking forward to that day, its countless generations seem to me to be rising up and passing in dim and shadowy review before us; and a voice comes forth from their serried ranks, saying, "Waste your treasures and your armies, if you will; raze your fortifications to the ground; sink your navies into the sea; transmit to us even a dishenored name, if you must; but the soil you hold in trust for us—give; it a us free. You found it free, and conquered it to extend a better and surer freedom over it. Whatever choice you have made for yourselves, let us have no partial freedom; let us all be free: let the reversion of your broad domain descend to us unincumbered, and free from the calamities and the sorrows of human handage." SPEECHES FOR SALE BY BUELL & BLANCHARD Sixth Street, south of Pennsylvania Avenue.

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CORRESPONDENTS and others desiring to communi-cate with the undersigned will please direct their letters and papers to Fulton, Oswego county, New York, my pres-ent post office address.

J. C. HARRINGTON.

EUROPEAN CORRESPONDENCE.

Berlin, February 18, 1850 To the Editor of the National Era: The intense cold weather of January has given place to weather more disagreeable in every respect. We have had and still have a spell of

dark, foggy, rainy weather. The sun has not once made his appearance, and the streets are as sloppy as the grand thoroughfare of one of your mproved towns west of the Alleghanies. It is just such weather as the Frenchman imagines to be eternal in England. "When you get back," said a Frenchman in London to a friend leaving for Paris, "just tell the sun" bon jour " for me; I haven't seen him for a year." Everybody here is afflicted with the headache and the snuffles; indeed, the latter is said to be acclimated in North Germany as a spring epidemic. The snow which lay so deep in the country has melted, and the rivers have most of them overflowed their banks doing great injury. The overflow of one of them near Liege washed away about three miles of the railroad, causing a delay of from one to two days. in the mail communication between this and London. Even the Rhine has abandoned its usual channels, and deluged the whole country below Cologne. The Prussian Government has ordered out all the able-bodied males in the overflowed districts, for the purpose of erecting dikes to arrest the ravages of the flood. The country near Breslau, in Upper Silesia, has suffered greatly, an amense superficies being entirely under water.

The great event in the Berlin fashionable world, in the last two weeks, is the concert given Sunday before last for the benefit of the poor. The favorite day here for grand concerts is Sun day, and the time twelve o'clock in the morning. The grush was very great at the last one for the celebrated opera singers, Madames Korter and Florentine, were certainly to sing, and it was not improbable that Jenny Lind would also appear. The tragedian Hendrichs was to declaim, and a number of other musicians little less noted were to take part. Miss Lind disappointed the audience, as she always does in Berlin, having, it would appear, vowed never to appear in the capital of Prussia. The rest of the performance went off according to the programme, excepting complaints of bad colds by the performers, duly sympathized with by the audience, all of whom were more or less affected with the snuffles. The grand hall of the opera house was filled a little before the appointed hour. This hall is said to be one of the finest in Europe. A great deal of elegant carving in wood, beautifully gilded, ornaments the walls, and the gallery which runs quite round the room is supported not by pillars, but by large statues of goddesses and nymphs. When prince Charles and his daughter entered, the audience rose, and remained standing until they were seated. Gen. Van Wrangel, with his colorless face and pale blue eyes, appeared in his everlasting white military coat and his sword clank. ing by his side. Among the other celebrities. came the Earl of Westmoreland, the able minister esident of the Queen of England. He came to hear his own music, for, in compliment to him, the pieces selected were, most of them, from his masses or operas. The King did not come. Speaking of ministers reminds me of the singular and meteor-like passage through this city of Gen. Webb, the American Minister to Vienna The most attentive observers here were not aware that the General had swept through this

those heretofore sent out, always excepting those to London and Paris. He is a good looking man. and knows how to behave himself in society which is nearly all he will have to do, as in truth endorsing a few passports is all that is required of nine-tenths of our representatives in Europe. We should either abolish all our legations, or commence active negotiations, at once, for the reaction of international postage, the establishment of international copy-right laws, the delivery of fugitives from justice, and fifty other im

portant matters now altogether neglected.

On the 6th instant, Prussia became a constitutional monarchy. The late King promised his subjects a constitution, in 1812, when he wished to arouse them against Napoleon. He forgot it after the success of the allies, but the people remembered it in 1848. The present Constitu tion is made by the King and the two Chambers representing the hourgeousie, but entirely passive before the will of the monarch. It contains as few of the essentials of such an instrument as can be well imagined, but is far better than none at all. Before 1848, the King was absolute monarch, the press was subject to the censure, personal liberty lay at the mercy of every petty official. the right of assembling together was not recognised at all, and there was no tribunal befor which public opinion could summon the King and his subordinates. On these points, the new Constitution is certainly not what it should be, but it ecognises very sensible ameliorations, and introuces others. Public opinion his awaked from its death-like apathy on politics; the King must govern through a ministry; the press is indulged in a much more free tone of discussion : a habeas corpus act is in force, and is in most cases regarded by the Government; clubs are in existence everywhere, though subject to a thousand annoyances; and there are two Chambers in which the neasures of the Government can be sifted and exposed, and the ministry itself arraigned for alsoonduct. The advance in the last two years is certainly greater than in the hundred preceding ones, though not as great as the democrats had a right two years ago to expect, and what they could have accomplished had they not been so credulous. It is unnecessary now to revert to the complicated schemes and faithlessness of the King. They have been heretofore given in this correspondence. The end has been reached. The Constitution, such as it is, has been solemnly sworn to by the King and Chambers.

which the King has not inhabited since 1848. Before taking the oath, he stated the reservations and restrictions under which he was willing to do so, one of them being that he should find it possible to govern under the Constitution. He did not forget to repeat that he has no personal desire to reign, but considers it a duty imposed upon him by God. The princes of the royal house, with the exception of the heir presump house, with the exception of the heir presumptive and his son, were present, and took the oath. It is supposed that the Prince of Prussia will not consent to become a constitutional monarch, and that he does not consider the acts of the present King binding on his successor. He may do as the present King of Hanover did, whose predecessor had granted a constitution to the people. At his accession, he quietly annulled the instrument. Comparatively little interest seemed to be felt

The ceremony took place in the Berlin palace

Comparatively little interest seemed to be felt by the people in the oeremony. The large palace square was far from being filled, and not a single shout was raised, not a single hat flung in the air, not a cry of "long live the King!" People came, looked on quietly a while, and went away again. The shops had been opened as usual, and everybody seemed to be about his accustomed business. A magnificent illumination had been commenced for the night. It proved a magnificent failure. The windows of a few houses shone like the diamond walls of Aladdin's cave, but in the rest timid hands had stuck a candle here and there, to avoid reproach. In some blazed a solitary lamp, recalling vividly to my memory the night in Paris when a gruff captain in the national guard waked me up to order me to stick a lamp in my window. "If not there in fifteen minutes, I will order a volley to be fired through the window into your room." It was cheaper, on the whole, to comply. Here the compulsion is of a different character, but none the less real. The houses not illuminated are noted by the constables, and the occupants subsequently harassed, in a variety of ways known only to the ingenuity of the police in Europe.

[SEE SECOND PAGE]